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Counseling in context : the induction of counselors into organizational life.

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COUNSELING IN CONTEXT: THE INDUCTION
OF COUNSELORS INTO ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

A Dissertation Presented

by

WILLIAM D. MAILLER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

MAY 23, 1992

School of Education

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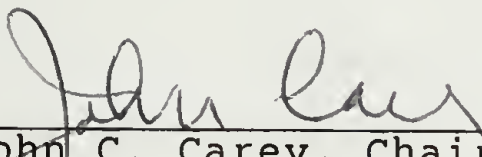
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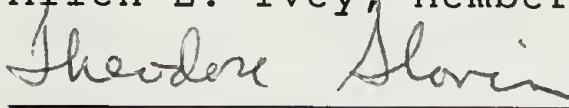
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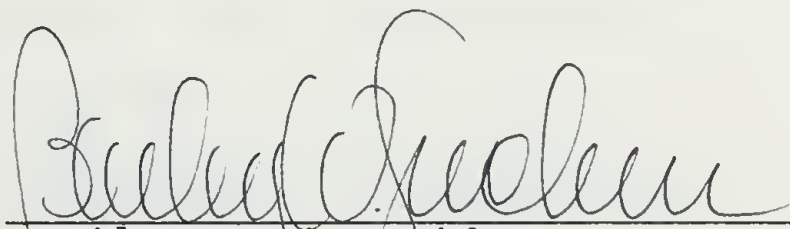
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ABSTRACT

COUNSELING IN CONTEXT: THE INDUCTION OF COUNSELORS INTO ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

MAY 23, 1992

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Burnout in teaching and counseling adversely affects the mental and physical health of those experiencing it, results in lowered levels and quality of service, and often results in job and career dropout. A review of literature for both professions indicates that burnout is related primarily to the coupling of emotional exhaustion with job dissatisfaction. Primary factors associated with job dissatisfaction include: "reality shock," social isolation, lack of influence and participation, excessive bureaucracy, role conflict, etc.

These factors, however, are not addressed in the pre-service education and training of teachers or counselors. Modification of pre-service training to address these factors might increase graduates' ability to successfully adjust to organizational life, thus, reducing the burnout, dropout and the associated human and financial costs. This research modified the training of six M.Ed. counseling stu-

dents using a pre-test/posttest single-group design. Data was gathered through quantitative and qualitative self-report questionnaires as well as through journal records, an assessment project, and video-taped class sessions.

The study confirmed the presence of some of the key factors cited in the literature on burnout: reality shock, bureaucratic work, and role conflict. The students' experience was positively affected by the intervention. A one-tailed t test comparing pretest and posttest mean scores was significant at the .01 level with all changes in the desired direction. Maturation could explain this result, but the qualitative data shows all subjects experienced significant developmental changes related to the intervention. Further, 50% of the subjects reported increased levels of inclusion attributable to the intervention, and 33% reported increased influence and positive feelings. Organizational changes were attributed to the intervention by 33% of the subjects.

It is strongly recommended that the pre-service training of counselors and teachers be modified to include: (1) weekly meetings of students throughout the internship period to explore feelings and thoughts related to organizational life; (2) training and guidance in the use of qualitative assessment as an intervention technique; and (3) supervision that facilitates cognitive development in all modalities.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Burnout and Job Dissatisfaction

From both an organizational and a psychological perspective, the work of teachers and institutional counselors (those employed by clinics, agencies, schools and hospitals) is very similar. Both work independently in physical isolation from their peers. They spend their day in a room or cubicle that is one of many in the building that houses their institution. In a typical day, they work with many different people—individually and in groups. Except for staff meetings, however, this emotionally demanding work is conducted in social isolation from peers and administrators. They share the very demanding task of emotionally and intellectually engaging their customers (clients or students) in order to facilitate new learning and new patterns of behavior.

The physical conditions and hours under which they work, caseload or classload, policy and procedure, and administrative practices are factors over which they have little control or influence (Cherniss, 1980; Maslach and Florian, 1986; Jaeger and Tesh, 1989; and Frank and Cosey, 1985). Teachers and counselors are expected to perform a multiplicity of roles (Cherniss; Thompson and Powers, 1983; Armstrong, 1983; Olson and Dilley 1988; and Pierson and Archambault, 1984): direct provider of service; adminis-

trative bureaucrat; advocate for the client or student with families; intermediary for referral or interaction with other agencies or persons; representative of the institution in public forums; etc.

The reward for all this is certainly not extrinsic. There is little status, responsibility for policy-making decisions or career advancement. (Jaeger and Tesh, 1989; Riggan, Hansen and Crimando, 1987; and Jones and Emener, 1986). The satisfaction, consequently, is largely intrinsic and comes from serving others—helping them expand and improve their understanding of the world, themselves and others.

Given this context of work, it should be no surprise that both teachers and counselors become emotionally exhausted and dissatisfied with their job. The ill effects of burnout on counselors has been documented by Cherniss (1980), Riggan, Hansen and Crimando (1987) and Quattrochi-Tubin, Jones and Breedlove (1982). Between 30% and 45% of teachers drop out before their fourth year of teaching (Frye, 1988; Jensen, 1987). These effects are a concern not only to teachers and counselors themselves, but also to the institutions that employ them and the larger communities that they serve.

I have spent the last twenty plus years working as a member of complex organizations. For the past eight of those years, I have specialized in helping people come to

terms with organizational "realities" and learn how to work together in the service of common goals. If we think of "work" as an emotional and cognitive engagement in a task, it seems that half of the work of a teacher or counselor is meeting the needs of students or clients and the other half is interacting with the organization.

I find it disconcerting that our universities attempt to prepare us for the first half but not the second. Yet it is that second part that is so problematic. Adjustment to organizational life is not an area that is typically addressed in the pre-service education and training of either teachers or counselors. Educational institutions send their graduates into the world of work naive to the realities of organizational life; as if these realities did not exist! Most of us surmount this difficulty, adjust, and manage to keep our enthusiasm for the work. Some do not and experience burnout. Of this group, some stay on the job; physically present but emotionally vacant, they contribute to the ineffectiveness, cynicism and inertia of the larger organization. Others leave the profession; at a personal cost to themselves and with a hiring and retraining cost to their employer.

In any case, it would seem that if we could improve the pre-service induction experience of students in counseling and teaching, we might increase their ability to successfully adjust to organizational life. This would

reduce the experience of burnout, dropout, and the associated human and financial costs.

Modifying Pre-Service Training

If we want to facilitate the adjustment of pre-service students to organizational life, how might we do this? The obvious point in time to accomplish this is during their practicum or internship assignment. Assuming that attentional capacity is finite, we need to divert some portion of their attention during this experience from service delivery (counseling or teaching) to the organizational context within which they are working. The problem, then, becomes one of choosing an appropriate methodology that would ensure a positive interaction between the student and the institution.

There are many ways of learning about an organization. As a practitioner in the field of organizational developmental, this is an aspect of work with which I am continually engaged. A common method used to gain formal understanding of an organization is to conduct an assessment of its climate. The literature on climate assessment (see Chapter II), however, is focused on developing reliable, quantitative approaches using scales and instruments. Criticism of the field, however, cites several flaws: the absence of a theoretical base; lack of definitive measures; and the need for more qualitative approaches.

There is another problem associated with the traditional approach to organizational assessment and that is a philosophical one. Most quantitative measurement is rooted in the paradigm of the natural sciences in which it is assumed that the scientist, the measurement tool, and the object being measured are mutually independent. The interaction of human beings in a layered social environment of interdependence, however, is considerably more complex. It is a dialectical interaction in which multiple parties participate in the co-construction of "reality." A strictly quantitative approach does not take into account the complexity of human interaction.

I am particularly conscious of this since I work as an internal consultant and am constantly reminded, by organizational members, that I am part of the organization I am assessing. I, and the people I work with, are partners in learning about the organization and ourselves. We make meaning together. It would, therefore, be misleading to send students out to learn about their site organization as if it were an independent "object" to be studied through a standard, quantitative assessment.

Assuming that we want students to learn about organizational life by co-constructing an assessment of the organization during their practicum assignment, how should that be structured? I have had at least two very positive experiences using a qualitative approach. Patton (1980) and

Jorgensen (1989) provide a helpful description of the theory and procedures involved in qualitative research: data gathering techniques (including participation, observation, participant observation and interview); data analysis; and interpretation. To these qualitative techniques I added a psychological stance (a meta-perspective) that was interactive and humanistic. My focus was not on the data gathered but on the act of data gathering and its consequent effects. I also concentrated on establishing rapport and conveying a non-judgmental style. Conceptually, I approached the organization as a client of many "parts," each of which had a legitimate reason for being.

One of the unexpected effects of this approach, for me, was a greater sense of inclusion by all people in the organization (more "smiles per mile" and "hellos" than before), greater influence (being sought out by people at all levels for advice and as a sounding board), and greater affective involvement and pleasure in my work. This is consistent with Patton's observation (1980) that "One of the things that can happen in the course of fieldwork is the emergence of a strong identity with the people being observed . . . their lives, their hopes, and their pain" (p. 179).

Another set of unexpected effects were signs of positive change and movement within the organization. It seemed as if the direction of our mutual attention to

learning about the organization was, if not sufficient to produce change, at least contributory to it.

If we are able to assist practicum students in qualitatively assessing their site organization from a humanistic and interactive stance, it might improve the quality of their induction experience, increase their awareness of organizational life and the "realities" of work, facilitate their inclusion and influence and, perhaps even, stimulate some change within the organization.

The Induction of Counselors

We do not know much about the induction experience of counselors: either from their point of view or from that of their site supervisors and directors. While there are some suggestive directions in the literature, we do not know much about how to improve the induction experience so that new members experience less stress, burnout and job dissatisfaction.

Purpose of This Dissertation

This dissertation explores three questions. First, what is the nature of the induction experience of practicum students in the graduate counseling program at the University of Massachusetts? This question will be answered by gathering qualitative and quantitative data from multiple sources. Second, how is this experience affected when the students' attention is explicitly directed to the organiza-

tional context of their practicum service? Third, how does this engagement effect the organization itself?

Significance of the Research

If there emerges some evidence that the induction experience of student counselors can be positively influenced by directing their attention to the organizational context of work life, and if additional research corroborates this suggestion, then educational curricula could be modified to better prepare students for the realities of work. I would argue, though this research will not prove it, that we could extend this line of reasoning to include teacher education as well because of the similarities in organizational context noted above.

Intuitively, the cost of such preparation would provide a return on investment by reducing the financial and human costs associated with burnout and dropout. It could also contribute to better career placement, greater job satisfaction and retention. Conceivably it might, indirectly, contribute to positive organizational change in some of the dominant institutions of our society.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE AND EXPERIENCE

Burnout and Job Dissatisfaction

The terms "burnout," "dropout," and "job dissatisfaction" are interrelated and often confusingly interchanged in the literature. Dropout occurs when a person voluntarily leaves their job or career and may or may not be a result of burnout or job dissatisfaction. Job dissatisfaction is a global term that refers to a variety of factors (workload, work conditions, levels of autonomy, the presence of conflict, nature of supervision, level of stress within the work site, etc.) associated with the particular job in the context of a specific setting. It is not necessarily the inverse of job satisfaction, and it is not the same as career dissatisfaction which relates to the person's basic aptitude and fit with the profession. Burnout is a condition of emotional exhaustion in the context of job dissatisfaction (Maslach and Florian, 1986) that changes attitudes and behaviors in a negative way (Cherniss 1980).

Cherniss (1980) investigated the phenomenon of burnout in public service professionals by describing, in a longitudinal study, the entry experiences of 28 individuals (mental health counselors, high school teachers, public health nurses and poverty agency lawyers).

His final recapitulation is worth quoting at some length:

They begin their careers with certain expectations and needs. They want to achieve a sense of professional competence, to work with motivated, cooperative and grateful clients, to receive support and autonomy from their employing organization, to become part of a stimulating collegial group of co-workers, and to engage in interesting and significant work. Their previous socialization has led them to believe that they will find these qualities in professional work, and that was a primary reason for choosing to extend their schooling by several years.

Unfortunately, many are sorely disappointed. They fail to find what they originally sought from professional work, and the initial "reality shock" contributes to frustration, anger, and depression. Over time, their outlooks begin to change . . . They become less idealistic, less willing to critically evaluate and change their own functioning . . . less trusting and sympathetic in their attitudes toward clients . . . They lose much of their sense of mission and zeal, adopting more modest goals . . . And

they increasingly withdraw psychologically from their clients and their jobs. (p. 206)

Consequences

Clearly, the entry into organizational life for these professionals was experienced in a way that led to negative changes. Cherniss cites the following specific types of negative outcomes: lowered standards for service delivery, blaming of clients or the organizational "system;" emotional withdrawal; career withdrawal; and the primacy of self-interest in decision making. Burnout is detrimental to those who experience it and to those who depend upon the service delivered by professionals.

In a study of geriatric counselors, Quattochi-Tubin, Jones and Breedlove (1982) found burnout associated with: greater levels of substance abuse; higher rates of illness; and more searches for new employment. In examining the broader issue of "stress" for counselors, Cummings and Nall (1983) found stress associated with: burnout; leaving the organization; decreased mental and physical health; and decreased ability to deliver client services.

While dropout does not necessarily indicate burnout or job dissatisfaction, it is a related phenomenon of great consequence to the community, the professional disciplines involved and the specific employers. Frye (1988) discusses the dropout of teachers. She notes that " . . . teachers leave teaching at a higher rate after the first year than

any other time" (p. 55). Within the first two years, 40% of new teachers leave their job. Jensen (1987) offers similar statistics (35% within the first three years) and adds, that the most capable teachers are more likely to drop out than their less capable peers.

Interestingly, the reasons why people drop out may not match the reasons ascribed to them by their supervisors. In a study of dropouts from rehabilitation counseling, Riggall, Hansen and Crimando (1987) found that the employees cited one set of factors (stress, burnout, personality conflict with supervisors, and job dissatisfaction) while their supervisors cited another set (better job opportunities, low pay, and poor performance). It should also be noted that these statistics do not begin to account for those who drop out of their chosen career before beginning their first year. Boqad (1983) found that 30% of students in a teaching credentialing program never entered teaching. While these people attributed their decision to several intrinsic factors, it is reasonable to assume that their student teaching experience exposed them to a degree of job dissatisfaction or burnout that supported or prompted their career change.

Burnout Factors

The most frequently cited factor associated with burnout in public service professionals appears to be job dissatisfaction (please see Table 1 at the end of this chap-

ter). Job dissatisfaction or elements of it are specifically identified by many authors: Cherniss (1980); Ursprung (1986); Rimmerman (1989); Riggan, Godley and Hafer (1984); Riggan, Hansen and Crimando (1987); and Quattrochi-Tubin, Jones and Breedlove (1982). Other factors discussed include: a poor fit between the person and environment (Ursprung, 1986 and Wiggins, 1984); factors external to work and career (Rimmerman, 1989 and Olson and Dilley, 1988); difficulty with client relations (Cherniss, 1980 and Ursprung, 1986); emotional exhaustion (Maslach and Florian, 1986); and basic personality traits (Florence, 1986).

Job Dissatisfaction Factors

Reality Shock. The causes of job dissatisfaction have been researched in the professions of both counseling and teaching (please see Table 2 at the end of this chapter). The educational literature, in fact, has labeled one of the primary factors as "reality shock" (Frye, 1988). Fry also speaks of the trauma as student teachers transition to first year teachers. Armstrong elaborates by saying that "Part of beginning teachers' adjustment to the profession relates to their abilities to come to terms with . . . social structure . . . a hierarchy, a power structure" (p. 4).

For many young idealists, this is more an inner transition of values than it is an outer transition of behavior. Rubin (1968) said, "The most direct result [of being

a new teacher] was accepting that I was part of the establishment." Boqad found that one of the reasons given by career dropouts (before beginning their teaching career) was a basic value conflict with the profession. It appears that few new professionals are prepared for the political aspects of work that are characteristic of large organizations. Reitman (1980) commented that the mythos of teaching is an altruistic vision of "integrative harmony in the service of others" (p. 7) but the reality is one of intensely politicized behavior.

Cherniss describes this value conflict as one between the professional ideal and the bureaucratic reality. The former assumes an internal locus of control and the latter operates according to an external locus of control. Such constraints are completely unexpected by organizationally naive employees. In fact, they expect the converse. The administrative policies and procedures of a public agency are perceived (or misperceived) by new employees as limiting their autonomy, discretion and effectiveness.

Reality shock is more than value discordance, however, and, as Louis (1980, cited in Jensen, 1987) noted, the difficulties of this transition are often overlooked. She mentioned such things as: letting go of social and physical roots, and understanding the organization's culture, unspoken norms and expectations.

Lack of Influence and Involvement. Next to reality shock, and closely intertwined with it, the most frequently discussed factor related to job dissatisfaction is a lack of influence and involvement in the administrative functioning of the organization. As Cherniss found, new employees " . . . learn early that they have virtually no control over the political processes that affect their job." (p. 61). In their study of burnout of rehabilitation workers, Maslach and Florian found that burnout was associated with not being in control of work conditions or policy. In a study of counselors and teachers, Frank, Cosey, Angevine and Cardone (1985) found that levels of influence within the organization and involvement in administrative decision making were strongly related to job satisfaction.

Social Isolation. Not only do new teachers and counselors find themselves unprepared for the reality of organizational work and a lack of influence and control over work conditions, but they also find themselves isolated from their colleagues. Jensen (1987) noted that teachers work in isolation, rarely get feedback from peers, do not observe peers at work, and have no formal structures for peer communication. Deficient relations with other teachers was also cited by Frye (1988) as contributory to the problems of beginning teachers.

Similarly, Pipes, McEwen and Ittenbach (1986), researching the experience of first year counseling faculty, found insufficient peer relations to be a source of difficulty. Cherniss unequivocally states that the " . . . lack of collegial interaction in work settings is a major dysfunction" (p. 73) for public service professionals. Maynard (1986) reported that, for 338 rehabilitation workers, a lack of social networks correlated with higher levels of job stress.

Bureaucratic Work. Another factor frequently mentioned is the type of work performed. Inexperienced professionals expect that their work will be exclusively with clients or pupils. Instead, they find that much of their time is spent, undesirably, in understanding, interpreting and applying organizational policies and administrative practices (Wright and Terrian, 1987). In her diary as a beginning teacher, Morris says with relief at one point, "I think I am finally beginning to figure out the paperwork."

Frye (1986) reports the difficulties of beginning teachers as they try to locate resources and materials, and deal with insufficient supplies. Jaegar and Tesh (1989) found job dissatisfaction for 742 counselors to be closely linked to the aspects of the work itself, most specifically, the administrative or record-keeping aspect. Cherniss describes this as the bureaucratic function of transforming people into clients. In short, teachers and

counselors are expected to perform a variety of functions outside the pure delivery of service, and this multiplicity of roles is, in itself, stress producing (Olson and Dilley, 1988).

Role Conflict. Not only are professionals expected to perform different roles (service provider and bureaucrat), but these roles are often unclear, ambiguous and conflicting. Thompson and Powers (1983) found that, among 402 school counselors, role conflict and ambiguity were negatively correlated with job satisfaction and positively correlated with job tension and job change. Pierson and Archambault (1984) surveyed 1,656 school workers (teachers, counselors, psychologists, social workers and specialists) and determined that role conflict and ambiguity were major predictors of emotional exhaustion. Armstrong (1983) also identified the balancing of competing roles in the face of administrative indifference as a major difficulty in the induction of new teachers.

Absence of Extrinsic Rewards. The reward for all this is certainly not extrinsic. Jaeger and Tesh (1985) cite five factors of job dissatisfaction for teachers and counselors. One has been mentioned above, the others are: lack of status, lack of achievement, low salary and little formal decision-making responsibility. In their study of why rehabilitation counselors left their jobs, Riggan, Hansen and Crimando (1987) found that the largest single

reason was the lack of advancement potential. A study of 194 rehabilitation counselors (recently employed after graduation) found them uncertain of their career prospects (Jones and Emener, 1986).

Other Factors. The sheer volume of work is another factor associated with job dissatisfaction: high course load for teachers (Frye, 1988); excessive demands (Olson and Dilley, 1988); and too many clients with too little time (Maslach and Florian, 1986). Cherniss (1980) offers the experience of boredom brought on by mundane and repetitive administrative tasks as another factor. Poor working conditions are also cited as factors by Olson and Dilley (1988) and Wright and Terrian (1987). The prevalence of organizational turbulence and change is suggested by Emener and Jones (1982), and unclear or conflicting organizational goals are highlighted by Ursprung (1986).

Personal Experience

One of the components of teacher and counselor burn-out is job dissatisfaction. Both burnout and job dissatisfaction contribute to dropout, impaired physical and mental health, and decreased quality and level of service delivery. New teachers and counselors suffer reality shock upon entering their first jobs, discover that they have little influence or power within the organization with respect to the work they do, are expected to perform different and conflicting roles and to do too much of the wrong (adminis-

trative) kind of work with little extrinsic reward, recognition, or opportunity for advancement.

My own experience confirms the above discussion of the factors involved in burnout and job dissatisfaction. When I graduated from college in 1969, I obtained a position as a social worker in the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. In retrospect, I was as naive as they come. I expected an altruistic environment of helping people and found instead that 98% of my work was administrative in nature and that there were endless rules to be understood, complied with, and paperwork to be completed. After a year, the inner dissonance drove me to shift my personal goals from helping people to helping expedite paperwork. I became, not a social worker, but a bureaucrat.

This was also my first experience working in a large organization, and the discovery of internal politics was eye opening and discouraging. Not only did we have the usual office politics and cliques, but the young, new workers, like myself, found their values quite at odds with older workers who had begun their careers during the Depression. The agency was also under public investigation by State auditors (for not following rules and being too generous), and this produced an internal dynamic of fear, blaming, withdrawal and conservative decision-making. At the same time, public advocacy groups were picketing and protesting the office (for following the rules and being

too conservative), and this exacerbated the internal climate. Babies were born in the waiting room next to comatose addicts, weeping mothers and desperate fathers.

Clients lied to me, co-workers cheated the system, and many of my peers, as well as myself, abused alcohol regularly. Cynicism was endemic. My workload was approximately 350 families, and I was supposed to visit each of them at home on a quarterly basis as well as add new clients, terminate old ones, and deal with emergencies and daily crises. A professional union was voted in and caseloads dropped dramatically, but a "pool" of 3,000 unsupported families was left over. Still naive and altruistic, I volunteered to be the social worker for that population (along with 1 para-professional) and strove to flow the paper until one day I "lost it" in a meeting between the administration and the workers. It had become totally and devastatingly clear to me that the director had no clue as to the difficulties under which I was laboring. I still do not remember what I said except that I was shouting and ranting with semi-coherence. A few months later, emotionally exhausted and totally dissatisfied with my job and career, I dropped out.

A Special Case: Pre-Service Trainees

For student teachers and counseling interns, the situation regarding job dissatisfaction and burnout is analogous but not identical. Their pre-service experience is a

brief and definitive prologue (3 to 12 months) and not an unbounded beginning. They probably have greater levels of anxiety regarding their competence and the total newness of the work environment. They are also often buffered from some of the tasks and consequent stressors of full-time professionals.

On the other hand, they have a unique set of stressors. Dodds (1986) explicates the dilemmas caused when the training site or agency (and supervisor) has goals and expectations of the student that are different from the goals and expectations of the training institution (and student). The training site looks for quick-learning students who can deliver quality client service at a low cost. The training institution looks for a placement site that can provide quality supervision and a good learning experience with diverse client populations.

Note that this conflict of roles and goals, however, is not different in form from the conflict of new professionals as they learn to work with the unexpected demands of the bureaucracy. Both are conflicts between expectations and reality. This conflict is cited as a contributing factor to burnout in a study of Master's level counseling trainees by Lambert, Matthews and others (1986). Conflict is also inherent in the relation of the site supervisor and supervisee when the supervisee does not have the opportunity to see first hand the supervisor's skills.

This can lead to a misperception (or perception) by the supervisee that the supervisor's skill is simply administrative (Harvey and Schramski, 1984). Note again, however, that this is not unlike the situation of new professionals and their supervisors.

Reducing Burnout and Job Dissatisfaction

Predictably, several authors have recommended preventive and reactive measures (please see Table 3 at the end of this chapter). Parker (1982) and Wiggins (1984) recommend improving the recruitment process to include better assessment of the person-environment fit. Stress management techniques are suggested by Parker, Ursprung (1986), and Olson and Dilley (1988). Ursprung, Cherniss (1980), Henry (1988) and Jensen (1987) all recommend the use of peer support groups as a means of addressing stress levels of new employees.

Specific training and orientation programs are recommended by a number of authors. Armstrong (1983) states that the ". . . key is a systematic process to introduce teachers to the nature of the school system and especially the nature of the decision-making process" (p. 5). Henry (1988) and Brown (1987) advocate the use of mentors. Hopefully, this would include Louis' suggestion (cited in Jensen, 1987) that there be a facilitation ". . . of the newcomer's understanding of their own entry experience" (p. 38). Cherniss (1980) and Ursprung (1986) also recommend

professional development programs to address issues and anxieties that revolve around professional competence.

Another approach is to change the organization itself. Cherniss (1980) recommends a number of changes such as: reduced workload; improved social contact; and modifications to the job. Kepner and Nelson (1981) urge that administrators respond to the needs of new teachers especially in the area of policy and procedures as well as implementing new practices such as job rotation, improved rewards, involvement in goal setting, etc. Ursprung (1986) recommends that organizations provide clearer goals, roles and job descriptions. Olson and Dilley (1988) hope that by confronting administrative personnel with the "hard facts" some level of change will be produced. Increased participation in decision making is recommended by Cherniss (1978) and Armstrong (1987).

A fourth set of recommendations centers on improving pre-service training. One aspect of that is related to the pre-service experience itself. Frye urges that school officials be involved in pre-service training. Part of that training should involve an open discussion of the student's entry process. According to Hourcade (1988), "It is crucial that the professionals involved in teacher preparation acknowledge the effects of stress in student teachers" (p. 348). Dodds (1986) suggests an open discussion between the student and site supervisors with regard to differences in

goals and expectations. Another aspect is related to the realistic preparation for future work. Jaeger and Tesh (1989) suggest that students receive information about the nature of the full job, both the tasks required (including administrative ones) and the organizational context.

Cherniss (1980) states that "A major gap in professional training concerned knowledge of the workings of complex organizations" (p. 224) and an attendant lack of skills in interpersonal relations and managing organizational conflict. Reitman (1980) takes a more extreme position and suggests that in some cases the " . . . primary task of university supervisors . . . is political counseling" (p. 8).

Implications for this Research

In summary, the recommendations for amelioration of burnout and job dissatisfaction in teaching and counseling include: avoiding the situation or treating the symptoms; providing formal orientation programs; changing the structure of the employing organizations; and improving pre-service training programs. In his research, Cherniss (1980) stumbled across an unexpected outcome: "Several students noted that the [research] interviews helped them gain new perspective on work and helped alleviate some of their tension and unhappiness" (p. 92).

This serendipitous insight suggests that by getting student inductees to explicitly reflect and speak about

their experience, some positive, affective change might occur. That is the core concept being investigated in this research. Specifically, the research builds on the following suggestions in the literature as applied to a pre-service training program for practicum students in counseling: (1) direct explicit attention to the entry experience; (2) provide realistic preparation about the workings of a complex organization; (3) increase the level and amount of social connection and inclusion, especially in the context of supportive networking; (4) increase opportunities for participation and influence in the organization; and (4) stimulate changes in the organization itself.

Toward a New Philosophy of Assessment

Just as there are many ways of assessing the psychological status of an individual (observation, clinical interview, diagnostic categorization, objective testing, projective testing, etc) so, too, there are many ways of assessing the psychological status of an organization. In this section of the chapter, I will summarize the literature on climate assessment and my experience in conducting climate assessment. This will then serve as a foundation for proposing a re-conceptualization of the assessment process. It is this re-conceptualization of assessment that underlies and informs the research design and intervention described in Chapter Three.

Assessment of Organizational Climate

The groundwork for this field was laid in the classic study of leadership style by Lewin, Lippitt and White in 1939. In the ensuing two decades, much of the attempt to quantify and describe the person-environment interaction occurred in the field of education. Withall (1949) offered one of the first definitions of Organizational Climate (OC) and characterized it as an "emotional tone" that powerfully effected the environment. As part of their attempt to assess the characteristics of different colleges, Pace and Stern (1958) expressed the hope that such assessment, in itself, could become a tool for positive organizational change.

The concept of OC, however, was never exclusive to education, and virtually begged for application in the workplace as part of the emerging set of management theory and tools. By 1964, there was enough research to warrant a literature review of OC (Forehand and Gilmer) as applied primarily to business organizations. In this review, the authors made the first explicit analogy between the personality of an individual and the personality of an organization (as described and measured by OC).

The following years witnessed an eruption of OC research in business organizations. A number of different models were proposed that described different dimensions of OC along with corresponding instruments for gathering sta-

tistical data according to the hypothesized categories. The focus of most research was the discovery of OC as something "out there" that could be independently and empirically validated. Many articles concerned themselves with the reliability and internal validity of various scales and instruments, and with the validity of the construct itself.

All of which was to little avail as Payne (1976) demonstrated in a comprehensive review of the subject. He discussed the research in terms of organizational structure (OS) vs OC, as well as individual variables and the perceptual measures of OS/OC vs objective measures. His rather pessimistic conclusions are worth quoting at some length:

Both structure and climate are multidimensional and consequent interactions are too complex to substantiate simple hypotheses about the effects of structure on behavior. (p. 1152) . . . Different operationalizations of each of the structural and climate measures have shown low correlations with each other . . . Perceptual measures of each . . . have varied so much among themselves that mean scores were uninterpretable . . . Furthermore, we have no useful theory to predict likely differences due to sampling. (p. 1168)

This conclusion was echoed by Woodman and King (1978) in their review of the state of OC. They concluded that

"The major unresolved research issues center on the question of validity" (p. 823). They suggested that:

Perhaps the concept of organizational climate never will lend itself to unambiguous causal statements of fact. Perhaps climate is destined to remain theoretically promising but methodologically unsound . . . In any event, until these issues of validity can be resolved, much speculation about organizational climate is likely to elude science and remain in the realm of organizational folklore. (p. 824)

In summary, the complexity of measurement and the lack of a viable theoretical base to guide the process of measurement make quantitative assessment of OC not only useless but also impossible. An additional shortcoming of OC assessment is the scant mention in the literature of the therapeutic potential of data feedback—despite Moos's (1976) re-assertion of Pace and Stern's initial hope. This absence is all the more curious given that the process of data gathering and feedback has long been a cornerstone intervention for most practitioners in the field of Organization Development (Dyer, 1977; Schein, 1969).

What does this mean? My conclusion is that researchers have been concerned primarily with perfecting a valid and reliable instrument for quantitative assessment in order to make predictions, while practitioners have been concerned primarily with the pragmatic task of using assess-

ment as an adjunct to change interventions. The two groups have been operating independently. Neither seems to have developed a strong theoretical base that would support both valid research and effective intervention.

Experience in Climate Assessment

My experience as a practitioner in a large, high-tech organization has been that the social world is so complex, ambiguous, and fast changing, that reliability and generalizability of measurement are not especially relevant. Speed, utility, and ideographic validity are paramount. Organizations, products, technologies and people appear and disappear so quickly that managers joke about not wanting to take a vacation because their job may be gone or changed before they return.

Does that mean that OC assessment is useless? Not at all. Wicker (1981) took a sociological position and noted that most OC assessment techniques derived from the field of individual psychological assessment and that such approaches constrain our understanding of the environment from the participants' perspectives. He recommended that "Researchers need first to acquire a sensitive, qualitative understanding of what goes on in the settings they intend to study" (p. 52).

This idea was also voiced by Rao (1982) who observed that "One rarely, if ever, comes across studies which have used field work methods of investigation of OC based on

long and continuous periods of observation . . . from multiple sources . . . and intimately interacting with organization members to get the insider's view of the organization in his own terms." (p. 179). Payne (1976) argued along similar lines that:

Future research can . . . utilize a completely different approach. We need a deep involvement from the members of a complex system to gather meaningful data which accurately reflect these people's experiences. The researcher must create a relationship of trust and openness with his research clients to avoid the unintended consequences of rigorous research. (p. 1168)

I have come to appreciate, through a significant mistake, the value of these recommendations. In 1985, I performed a traditional survey of OC using structured questions that I hoped would give me useful quantitative information about a number of a priori categories such as: Morale; Communication; Leadership; etc. While it was not elegantly scientific (no factor analysis or analysis of variance), I did compute means and standard deviations for various populations by question and category. I also had the enthusiastic support of the "top" manager in the organization. The result, however, was a "non-event:" very little changed.

In hindsight, a number of issues got in the way. While I did include some open-ended data, the project was

largely quantitative and ignored the qualitative aspects of the situation. Additionally, I was naive as to both my role in the assessment process and the degree to which I was inextricably related to the very thing I was trying to measure. I thought I was describing some object "out there." I was unaware, in other words, that I was entering into a dialectic and co-constructing an assessment with the participants.

Also, I let too much time pass between the data gathering and the feedback, and did not feed back the data to all participants. This made it very easy for them to discount the data. Finally, I did not offer a way of interpreting or making meaning out of the data beyond the most commonsense sort of summary and general recommendations. Essentially, I provided all the warmth, genuineness and empathy of census taker: it was my survey, done my way, for my reasons, and respondents had to answer within the constraints of my 1-5 Likert scale.

Learnings and Applications

It would appear, from both my experience and a review of the literature, that quantitative techniques are inappropriate for the assessment of OC and, by extension, for any organizational assessment concerned with socio-emotional issues. While there have been repeated and increasing suggestions that researchers adopt a qualitative ap-

proach, there has been little research that explores this area.

Further, I have found no explicit mention of OC in terms of the most significant shift in the scientific paradigm since Newton (or perhaps even Galileo): Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle. This principle, which is the foundation for high energy particle physics, states (Zukav, 1979) that the act of measurement alters the thing being measured and that this is due not to the quality of our measurement tools but to the nature of reality and mind. From the standpoint of this paradigm, assessment is not an isolated event performed on an organization, but rather a dialectical interaction between the consultant and the organization out of which new realities are co-constructed. Finally, while the reviewers of OC have cited the need for researchers to establish trust and inclusion with those being assessed, there are no explicit recommendations for how to accomplish this. I suggest that the techniques of qualitative research, when informed with the humanistic principles of counseling, might provide a specific path for achieving rapport.

During the twelve months from July, 1989, through June, 1990, I had two positive experiences in climate assessment. (Raw data and summary reports are available on request for both assessments). In both cases, I con-

sciously attempted to address my earlier learnings and set out to do these assessments differently.

First, I was aware that I was initiating a "Heisenbergian" event in a complex system and that I could not possibly predict the outcome. The result would be something that the organization and I co-constructed. My focus, therefore, was not on the data gathered but on the act of data gathering and its consequent effects. A corollary to this focus was the desire to approach the project in an interactive mode. This meant that my role was to participate and assist in the making of meaning. This required that I establish a client-consultant relationship characterized by mutual trust and regard.

Second, taking my cue from Rao (1982) and Wicker (1981), I intended to utilize the qualitative and anthropological techniques of assessment as presented by Patton (1980) and Jorgensen (1989). Third, I wanted to emulate the principles of humanistic counseling (Rogers, 1951) and regard the organization as a client-centered counselor might regard an individual client. This meant that the assessment process would use counseling techniques to: validate the perceptual field and "reality" of the respondents (Rogers' Principles I and II); understand behavior from their internal frame of reference (Principle VII); provide a context of safety within which they could express emotions (Principle VI) and admit into collective conscious-

ness those thoughts, feelings and experiences that are contradictory or denied in part or in whole (Principles XI and XIV); interpret behavior as goal-directed (Principle V); and assist in developing an integrated, self-consistent system that explains sensory and visceral experience (Principle XVIII).

In summary, the assessments were designed according to three main strategies: (1) to maintain conscious awareness of the assessment as an intervention and as part of a dialectical co-construction of meaning; (2) to use qualitative research techniques; and (3) to adopt a client-centered approach using standard counseling techniques such as "active listening."

Both assessments were conducted in the same setting: a manufacturing plant (one of 21 plants in a large corporation) that produces a variety of high-tech products using three distinct processes (metal fabrication, module assembly, and computer system assembly). The building is about 20 years old and covers 500,000 square feet in a single story. Approximately 1200 people were employed at the plant on two shifts. The first assessment was conducted in the Modules and Systems Departments and the second was conducted in the Metal Fabrication Department (known internally as "Enclosures").

A Program Assessment

The first assessment was conducted in the summer of 1989 and originated with a request by the Plant Manager to find out how a major change program, Flexible Manufacturing Solutions (FMS), was progressing from the point of view of those directly involved. She wanted access to the opinions and feelings of the people affected by the change so that further action, if required, could be taken.

The change program was being implemented in the Modules and Systems production departments. Three hundred direct workers and another one hundred indirect workers were involved in the implementation which included: physical change (completely new floor layouts and equipment); social change (workers organized into product-focused teams); and procedural change.

The methodology for the intervention attempted to mirror the co-constructed dialog of humanistic counseling. In this case, however, I was sensitive to the fact that the clients weren't coming to me but that I was going to them. Therefore, because the first move was mine, I needed to be especially respectful and adopt a stance that would allow them to decline if they so wanted. The first part of the intervention, therefore, involved not just asking the questions about the presenting problem (the assessment) but also creating a relationship that would allow us to jointly

explore, with some degree of psychological safety, the larger context of the total lifespan.

The second part of the intervention consisted of the participants' response (the data) to my initial overture. The third part included feedback (active listening) of their responses as well as mine. This included the total situation as I heard, observed and felt it: including paradox, inconsistency, and my own personal reactions. This step also included offering a self-consistent interpretation of events that might create additional possibilities for movement toward greater psychological health. These three steps were conceptualized as the opening dialogue and the primary intervention.

Ensuing interventions were conceptualized as secondary since they were not pre-planned but would evolve out of an on-going dialectic. Our collective and individual responses to the opening intervention, as opposed to the factual data gathered, would be the "effect" of the assessment. With luck, this would lead us to a co-construction of new, healthier "realities."

Methodology. Data were gathered through three methods. The first method used structured group interviews. I met separately with each of 22 different groups (17 employee teams, production supervisors, and 4 management staffs) and asked the same four, open-ended questions. The questions were: (1) What's going well with the program;

(2) what's not going so well; (3) what have you learned; and (4) what could you do differently. Responses to the questions were recorded verbatim. Later, the responses by each constituency (teams, supervisors and managers) were analyzed by question for themes. Themes were determined by coding similar responses as belonging to a common, higher order abstraction.

The second method was participant observation. I spent a week working on the production line with one of the teams. Notes were kept and then written in a diary-style narrative that described what I heard, saw, felt and did as a working member of a team. The third method was unstructured individual interviews. I conducted interviews with a number of the original sponsors and obtained copies of the initial project plans as artifacts. I hoped that the combination of data from these different methods would enable me to effectively "triangulate" the environment and get a more complete navigational fix on a complex situation.

Once the data were gathered, themes analyzed and narrative written, I summarized the major issues, made interpretations based on psychological theory and suggested alternative courses of action. This phase was both diagnostic (as I made meaning for myself) and reflective as my meaning was offered in a written report and verbal feedback to the participants.

For example, the problematic nature of power was framed with insights from Maslow (1962), Fromm (1941) and Rank (1929). The difficulties facing teams were explored with support from the work of Lewin (1936), Knowles (1980), Kanter (1983), Lacoursier (1980), Lieberman, Yalom and Miles (1973) and Carew, Parisi-Carew and Blanchard (1984). The dynamics of human difference and intolerance were discussed utilizing Furth's (1987) reconceptualization of symbol making and Miller's (1983, 1986) studies of child abuse.

Risks and limitations. While this approach addresses some of the inadequacies of traditional climate assessment, it has a number of inherent liabilities of its own. Chief among these is the issue of the observer's role and bias. While I tried to make clear my role in this particular project, I was a regular participant in the setting and had on-going management duties and responsibilities. The participants could not help but view me as a Personnel Manager first and a participant-observer second. This means that some of them might have mistrusted my motives or pre-judged my actions negatively.

I tried to minimize this effect by raising the issue when I was working in the team and checking it out with particular individuals. It seems, although I could have been selective in what I solicited or heard, that for the most part I was accepted with trust. Indeed, if there was

a liability here, it is that I may have been invested with more credibility and trust than other managers and be "set up" to be more different than I was or realistically could be. I tried to be clear about the limits of my authority and influence: I would neither produce nor be responsible for making the desired changes in the workplace. Even so, if nothing changed, I expected that it might be held against me.

There was also the issue of my own values and beliefs which are fairly mainstream, white, professional and middle class. I value honesty, integrity, hard work, initiative, intelligence, creativity, courage, pragmatism, etc. To the degree I am not aware of these or other values, they can bias my selection, conceptualization and interpretation of the data.

Another liability is that, while the data were gathered verbally, the main vehicle for feedback was a written report of considerable length. There is a vast range of literacy within the setting's population as well as a number of non-English speaking persons. A substantial number of the people do not have high school degrees.

Also, manufacturing, as an occupation, seems to attract people with a general predisposition for tangible action as opposed to reading and introspection. All of this made the actual tone and wording of the report problematic. My solution was to frame it as a "story" composed

of sub-stories by the different constituencies (or parts) and to write, as much as possible, for the particular audience. One manager made extensive notations in the margins and corrected all my "typos." An engineering supervisor said it was more fun than the last novel he read. Several people on the team said that it was amazing to see their life so exactly portrayed; that it captured their inner thoughts and feelings.

A further difficulty was that I needed to balance the presentation of themes and interpretations so that they appeared objective and not biased toward a particular constituency. If I lost rapport with a constituency, that group would tend to deploy defense mechanisms and ignore, deny, or debate the data, rather than engage the report as an objective reflection of a complex world. I worded the it as carefully as I could and got initial feedback from persons who might have been expected to react defensively and modified the final draft accordingly.

I was also concerned about people that were mentioned by name in the narrative section. There was no point in disguising the individuals since their identities could fairly easily be guessed. My response to this was to give copies of the narrative to the entire team I worked with as well as any person mentioned by name and to offer to strike or reword the portion involving them. No changes were requested.

Another risk was that, in my attempt to offer a reframe of the situation and guide meaning making, I either lost people conceptually or overly simplified complex psychological theory by "popularizing" it. On the other hand, I am committed to psycho-education as a technique and believe in sharing those concepts with clients so that they can understand how I arrive at my interpretations and suggestions. I do not want to simply, and privately, inform my own action but, rather, open the door to a mutual construction of meaning.

Recognizing all of these liabilities, I relied heavily on a verbal presentation of the report's key elements to each of the groups from whom I had gathered data. During those presentations I strove to present a balanced and objective point of view; always giving examples from at least two sides of a situation. I allowed for questions and responses and specifically offered to return when they had read the report and discuss it with them as a group or as individuals.

An example of the value of the verbal interaction is that one theme in the report dealt with significant problems (including outright hostility) between shifts. Despite my attempt to word the report carefully, one team felt that their shift had been unfairly portrayed since I had spent my week on the line with an alternate shift. After some discussion, I was able to ask if the words in the

report would have changed, in substance, if I had spent the week with them. They agreed that the substance wouldn't have changed, only the name of the shift. I was then able to point out to them that, "Isn't it interesting that they feel the same way about you that you feel about them? What do you suppose is going on?" This reflection (of an interactional pattern) back to the client served as a means of engaging them and potentially leading to the next developmental step.

Organizational change. The determination of what is, or is not, an assessment effect is rather problematic. In dealing with a complex organization experiencing rapid change at multiple levels, it is difficult to say what would have happened independent of a particular intervention. It is somewhat like determining the effectiveness of therapy: would the client have gotten better (or worse) without treatment? Who could foresee that the client would fall in love or have a car accident?

In organizational life, there are analogous events, external situations that either encourage or suppress the intervention effects. During the same period as the above assessment, for example, there were several major changes. The entire plant was re-organized in a new management structure. A major product shifted out of the plant and demand for others slackened dramatically, thus requiring a significant downsizing in the plant population. Both of

these changes have consumed a substantial portion of management attention, thereby minimizing the attention given to the assessment recommendations. A Customer Certification program was initiated which required the plant to declare and prepare "areas of excellence"--the assessment report became one of the cornerstones for that effort and, hence, magnified the effects and my leverage to implement recommendations.

Two major groups (Engineering and Materials) repeatedly rebuffed requests to present them with the report findings. This was not entirely unexpected since: (1) they were not part of the original data-gathering base; and (2) the report, especially the raw data from production groups, could be interpreted as being critical of them. Their inability to participate after the fact certainly constrained the potential positive effect. So, the potential effects have been simultaneously constrained and enlarged by external events and it is exceedingly difficult to estimate what "might have been." This underscores the difficulty of undertaking quantitative, cause-effect research in organizations.

Rogers (1951) offers some characteristics that might be considered as favorable outcomes of client-centered counseling. These include: increased spontaneity; unguarded expression of attitude; acceptance of different or contradictory feelings and thoughts and organization of

these into one self-consistent system; ownership of personal responsibility; replacement of a rigid value system with a valuing process; conscious articulation of all experiences and attitudes; and a balanced satisfaction of all needs. Where a rational case for an effect coincides with an increased display of these behavioral characteristics, we might grant the claim more credibility. (On the other hand, I might find effects and behaviors simply because I am now looking for them while they have, in fact, been there all along.)

It appears that some employees were subsequently able to express to the collective organization thoughts and feelings that would previously have remained only within a subgroup. For example, a visiting group of supervisors from a customer requested information about FMS implementation. Several employees were recruited to develop and present their perspective. Some of those presentations included the same critiques that were summarized in the assessment report and which reflected "negatively" on management. Despite an initial moment of indecision, the responsible manager decided to allow the employee to make the presentation. I believe that having those opinions already in the "public domain" by virtue of the verbal feedback and written report increased the likelihood of this outcome. The ability of an organization to con-

sciously present and value divergent points of view is certainly a step toward greater psychological health.

One of the recommendations in the report was for greater connection among different parts of the organization. After reading the report, one manager (in an operation not part of the assessment) requested a presentation of the findings to her staff. As a result of that event, one of her staff initiated conversations with a particular team to explore and learn more about each other and their work roles and responsibilities. This is further evidence of a positive, spontaneous effect in the development of an inclusive, systemic perspective within the organization.

The report explicitly highlighted the dilemma of the supervisory role and recommended developmental opportunities for this group. Five of the thirteen supervisors made career changes subsequent to the report. I do not suggest that the report was causal, but I suspect that, for at least two individuals, it confirmed their thoughts and feelings and, hence, supported their personal decision-making process and consequent ownership of responsibility for their own health and welfare.

In both the Modules and Systems Departments, the respective managers and supervisors initiated their own teambuilding efforts. In part, this may have been due to the unequivocal finding in the report that management levels were not as involved in team processes as employees.

The decision to engage in teambuilding was one that these groups spontaneously determined on their own and addressed an imbalance (in my opinion) in previous need satisfaction which had been oriented exclusively toward the technical aspect of the task.

A stronger claim for causal linkage can be made for the initiation of a formal development program for supervisors. This was a report recommendation that was embraced by the Plant Manager, Business Manager and Operations Managers. Six one-day meetings were held in which the role of a supervisor has been defined and critical skills identified. Importantly, at the supervisors' request, the last five meetings included their managers as participants. At one meeting there was a panel discussion with senior management from across the plant and a data gathering effort by the supervisors to elicit employees' needs and perspectives about the supervisory role. Clearly, this was a large step toward systemic integration of parts into a self-consistent whole.

Independent of FMS and the report, the plant initiated a program of Continuous Improvement. Part of Continuous Improvement entails establishing Small Group Improvement Activities (SGIA) which are analogous to the more popularly known Quality Circles or Employee Involvement programs. Because of my work with FMS, I was named co-chair of the group responsible for initiating SGIA. Being fully im-

mersed in the employee dynamics of FMS, I approached this task carefully. My co-chair was one of the Operations Managers and he had read the FMS report. We agreed that we needed to model the recommendations and, therefore, created a team that represented the spectrum of employees that would be involved. Each member read the report as a grounding in the state of employee morale and need. The resulting SGIA program consciously attempted to learn from the recommendations cited in the report.

One recommendation highlighted the difficulty of group problem solving at the team level because of the number of people involved (15-20) and also the lack of a structured approach. SGIA techniques provide both a structure and a means for limiting the process to a manageable size group (5-8). To date, several SGIA groups have formed with at least one documented success. The program group also formulated and proposed a reward program for SGIA work which addressed another assessment recommendation: the development of group-based rewards. This work was certainly different than it would have been without the benefit of the assessment experience. One definitive effect of the assessment was the request by the Plant Manager to review the job classifications of Production employees. This was an explicit recommendation of the report and was not pre-planned.

Personal change. I know that I have changed as a result of this intervention. In general, I felt more included in the Modules and Systems Departments organization at all levels, had more influence over events, and had more positive feelings about my membership. I also felt that I had a more systemic and meaningful understanding of the whole organization, and these insights guided my daily work. Both the Supervisory Development and SGIA programs were very different in approach and outcome from what I would have done prior to the assessment. I felt a greater rapport and credibility with senior management, supervisors and production workers than I have ever before experienced.

To some extent, I felt like I had become a spokesperson for the whole and have been asked to represent the total plant perspective on FMS (including its divergent views) to customers. I was also approached to participate, at the outset, in the implementation of FMS in another area of the plant (Enclosures). Since I was not invited to participate in the first implementation, I attribute this invitation to both my involvement in the assessment as well as to an increased awareness and willingness of the plant to accept ownership for learning from the past.

A Problem Oriented Assessment

This assessment differed from the FMS assessment in two major ways. First, it was not sponsored by the Plant Manager but rather by a mid-level management group assigned

to rectify a crisis situation in the metal fabrication (Enclosures) department. The crisis was a six-month trend in deteriorating performance (quality and delivery of product) that was alienating customers and endangering the future viability of the organization.

The management group specifically requested that I do a "study" similar to the FMS assessment (in which some of them had participated and all had read). They wanted a systematic means for gathering and consolidating employee perspectives on the problems causing the crisis (as well as potential solutions). They also asked that I spend a week working on the line so that I could offer my first-hand experiences and observations. In their eyes, I also had the asset of being relatively unfamiliar with the Enclosures Department (the work, the process, the people) and could, therefore, bring a fresh perspective to the situation.

Second, my curiosity was less with producing organizational effects than with producing personal ones. Therefore, I emphasized two of the three strategies in the assessment design: (1) maintaining awareness of the assessment as intervention; and (2) using qualitative techniques. The third strategy, using client-centered techniques, was present only to the extent of active listening. I did not intend to open a dialectic and use the feedback process as a specific stimulus to induce organizational change. My

primary goal was achieving inclusion and influence within the Enclosures Department.

While this may sound rather self-centered, I had two sets of reasons. The first set had to do with my role as an internal consultant. By comparison, I was far less familiar with the Enclosures Department than I was with the Modules and Systems Departments when I began the FMS assessment. I had some rapport with Enclosures supervisors and managers, but no contacts with production employees at all. In order to be effective, an internal consultant must be widely known within the organization, credible, and at the center of a network of relationships that provide information unavailable to outsiders or other constituents within the larger organization (such as managers). I viewed the Enclosures assessment as a short-term means to a longer-term goal of becoming knowledgeable, included, and influential within the organization.

The second set of reasons was related to the crisis atmosphere surrounding the assessment. There was not enough time to interview all employees—I would only reach a limited sample rather than the entire population. Intuitively, I did not feel that this would be the critical mass required to initiate a broad dialectic within the organization. Accordingly, I narrowed my expectations and scope to gathering data for the management group while in-

serting myself into a position of greater influence within the organization.

Methodology. This assessment differed from the FMS assessment in several ways. Due to the urgency of the business crisis, speed was essential: the overall process needed to be completed within one month (June, 1990) as the group had a directive to "fix" the problem within 90 days. Therefore, I eliminated the individual interviewing and concentrated on group interviews and participant observation. The interviews were completed in one week and summarized and reported in the second week. During the third week, I worked in the Production area and during the fourth week summarized and reported back on my experience.

This assessment also differed with respect to the sample. I did not interview all members of the organization but, rather, a sampling based on management selection. One of the weak points of the FMS assessment was its exclusion of most indirect workers and their consequent lack of interest in (or resistance to) the findings. Knowing that I would gain a strong impression of the Production workers' perspective by spending a week working with them, I designed the interview sample to be representative of all work functions. Approximately 60 people, out of a total population of 200 direct and indirect workers, were interviewed. I met with them as seven distinct groups, each group representing the functional responsibility embodied

in one of the managers (Quality, Production, Production Control, etc) sponsoring the assessment.

The interview format, data collection and analysis were identical to the FMS assessment procedure except that in this case the questions were: (1) What, in your opinion, are the causes of the performance problems; and (2) What solutions would you recommend? Data was recorded verbatim, coded and analyzed thematically. At this point, however, I did not do a lengthy introspection on the situation, nor did I offer interpretations based on psychological and organizational theory. I made a few, succinct interpretations and offered some brief personal recommendations.

Risks and limitations. This assessment faced most of the same liabilities as the FMS assessment, plus some. The sample posed some problems. Since the interviewees were selected by the managers, I had to assume that, at some level, the sample was biased according to their fears and fantasies and judgment. While the sample did represent all work functions, it did not include the managers themselves. This increased the possibility that they would perceive the findings in a dichotomous way and, hence, be more able to reject the data. Indeed, one manager said (in reference to a consistent thematic criticism of his department's procedures) "Well, in this case, the employees are just plain wrong!"

The tight timing was also problematic. Because the interview data was gathered, analyzed, and reported prior to the participant observation, there was no opportunity for an effective synthesis of both information sources, thus reducing the effectiveness of the triangulation approach.

I also discovered, after three days working on the production floor, that the supervisors had not communicated the reason and purpose for my presence. Some people thought I was just another temporary worker. Others knew I was from Personnel and warned me that some workers might be on their "good behavior" while I was present. In hindsight, I seriously mismanaged this part of the intervention. Since there was no convenient forum for clarifying this issue with employees (no regular group meetings), I did my best at damage control by explaining the purpose to influential workers and asking them to convey it to others. I followed the same process in writing the narrative and gaining permission to cite people by name and allowing the narrative to be corrected as they saw appropriate. (There were minor details corrected but nothing of substance was changed.)

The overall effectiveness of the assessment might have been limited by the absence of theoretically based interpretations and recommendations supported by authoritative references. It is much easier to discount Mailler than

Rogers. On the other hand, the lack of an overtly academic approach might have made it more accessible.

A final problem was that the feedback was given to those that participated which was only one-fifth of the total population. Respondents were encouraged to share the information and give additional copies to other employees. To some degree this happened, but the effectiveness and quantity of the communication could not be evaluated. Additionally, the feedback was not designed as an engagement and opening for dialectics but, rather, as a closure.

In the FMS assessment, there were a variety of perspectives with significant differences which presented numerous opportunities for engaging incongruence, difference, similarity, etc. In this assessment, however, the seven groups shared remarkably similar perspectives. The main difference was not between employee groups or functions but between the sponsoring managers and their responding employees. (Indeed, this may be the root cause of the Department's problems.) Unfortunately, the managerial perspective was not explicitly gathered and included in the assessment. I know this only because I attended their meetings and observed them first-hand. In retrospect, a better design would have included the sponsoring managers.

Organizational change. Again, effects were subject to being confounded by unanticipated and intervening variables. Not to be underestimated in this case was the ex-

treme pressure from the Plant Staff under which the Enclosures management group was operating. At this point (August 1990), it is too soon to clearly discern organizational effects that can be ascribed to the assessment.

I can report, though, that the assessment data clearly suggested that the underlying causes were manifold, systematically intertwined, and many years in the making. The data was a catalyst for the managers' open discussion of their feelings about the project. They finally accepted that the situation could not be "fixed" in 90 days and explicitly confronted the paradox that the harder they tried, the worse the situation became. With some pain, they also discussed the negative feelings that employees expressed about them personally, and the employee's opinions that the managers' behavior is part of the problem.

These discussions led them to look for their own failings and collusion with underlying, systemic problems in the organization. As a consequence, they met with their management and said, in effect, "We are not succeeding despite our best efforts and can no longer perform this assignment. If you think it is because we are incapable, then please relieve us of our responsibility and get someone else. However, we believe the problems come from how the total management group is behaving. We are as at fault as you." They then cited their experience and listed the systemic problems.

This event (confessing failure and saying "no" to senior management) broke a long-standing taboo in the organization and may have been a watershed experience for the plant. In my ten years of experience with senior management of the plant, I could not remember a comparable behavioral change.

Another effect was that, to many employees, I represented management and my action was, therefore, symbolic. As one employee said, "I don't care what you write in your report. What's important is that you cared enough to find out what we go through every day." Perhaps, through my modeling, more managers and employees will begin to understand each other's perspectives and bridge the gaps between them.

Personal change. As expected, I felt I gained a much greater sense of inclusion in a department that was previously unknown to me. Feedback that reached me (from employees and managers) on my participation has been unanimously positive. I have been invited to employee meetings and begun working with one group on solving a quality problem. A Plant Staff manager has sought me out for guidance on how he can help address the situation. Engineers have left notes of thanks in my office for sharing and publicizing the assessment. Because of a shortage of resources in the Personnel Department (my home), I was temporarily assigned as the Personnel consultant for Enclosures.

A totally unexpected effect was that I learned something about myself and something that was not pleasant to find out. I found that, despite my managerial responsibility, personal integrity, and pride in work, that I could do wrong things and want to cover them up. While working on the Production floor, I contributed to the very problems I was trying to help solve. This discovery about myself, though of inestimable value, was painful. My honesty in disclosing my actions, however, caused the managers to wonder about systemic issues that were previously beyond their comprehension.

Today, it is a very warming experience (especially to one so introverted as I) to walk through an area that was previously was foreign to me, and be greeted by people and be familiar with the surroundings, work flow and processes. All that I see makes now sense to me. I feel welcome and valued: included, influential and positive.

A Reconceptualization of Assessment

Traditionally, research on the assessment of Organizational Climate has been concerned with the development of quantitative instruments that yield reliable data in a priori categories that can be generalized across organizations. Practitioners, however, have been less concerned with the instrument and its conformity to nomothetic laws than with using the data to produce change. This chapter suggests that an effective and valid instrument can be de-

signed in conformance to the principles of qualitative assessment and implemented using a client-centered counseling approach.

This approach reconciles research with practice by suggesting that researchers concentrate on developing a qualitative and humanistic assessment process that: (1) is reliable across organizations; (2) has co-construction of experience as a means; (3) facilitates the emergence of a dialectic among organizational constituents as an end; and (4) fosters the inclusion and influence of the assessor as an equally important, parallel end.

One of the limitations of OC research has been the lack of a vital theoretical base. I maintain that there can be no such base as long as researchers design assessments in order to quantitatively measure organizational states and predict organizational outcomes. I believe that such attempts derive from confusing the psychological world with the natural world when the more appropriate comparison is with the subatomic world. Just as the quantum physicists do not know what is going on in the invisible subatomic world of particles, so too, we cannot know what is going on in the invisible psychological world of organizations. In both cases, we cannot directly apprehend; we must infer from behavior.

Heisenberg's work (1958) in quantum physics suggests that the act of measurement alters that which is being mea-

sured. Therefore, we cannot assume that that which is being measured exists independent of the measurement tool. Since the tool itself is merely a manifestation of our internal state (it is a physical expression of what we think we know to be true about the world), this means that the external world we are trying to measure (the psychological whole that is the organization) is inextricably and subtly related to our own internal world (our psychological being). Therefore, the central issue in assessing organizations is not how to develop a perfect tool but rather how to develop a process that acknowledges our epistemological limitations.

My suggestion is that we drop the attempt to achieve precise, static knowledge of external otherness and instead become vital, interactive knowledge in the act of mutual becoming. When this happens, the whole person of the researcher (his or her history, values, thoughts, feelings and behavior) becomes the vehicle for assessment and change. At this point, the assessment becomes the intervention or, at least, the opening of a dialectical interaction amongst members, including the newly introjected assessor.

Thus, I would like to offer the following reconceptualizations of organizational assessment: (1) Assessment is intervention and may, in and of itself, be sufficient for some level of change. (2) The assessor is part of the

psychological whole that is being assessed. (3) The act of assessment is, fundamentally, an act of self- and other-discovery; a developmental process. (4) The instrument of organizational assessment is not a survey form or questionnaire but the very being of the researcher.

Implications for this Research

The kernal of gold in all of the above, for me, is the discovery of a process that allows me to become included and influential within an organization and to have positive feelings about the people with whom I work. In addition, this approach to assessment catalyzes some degree of positive change within the organization almost in and of itself.

It is this realization that has led to the present research project. Perhaps the same process would provide similar benefits to new members of an organization and facilitate their experience of induction. Certainly, there are many differences between my situation and that of a practicum student in counseling: longevity, familiarity with the organization, pre-existent credibility, the nature of the job assignment, etc. Nonetheless, given the literature on counselor and teacher burnout and dropout, it seems an avenue worth exploring.

Table 1: Burnout Factors

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Citations</u>
Job Dissatisfaction	6
Person/Environment Fit	2
Client Relations	2
External Factors	2
Emotional Exhaustion	1
Personal Traits	1
Insufficient Competence	1

Table 2: Job Dissatisfaction Factors

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Citations</u>
"Reality Shock	8
Lack of Influence and Involvement	6
Social Isolation	5
Excessive Bureaucracy	5
Role Conflict	4
Administrative Work	3
High Volume of Work	3
Low Extrinsic Rewards	3
Other	5

Table 3: Reducing Job Dissatisfaction and Burnout

<u>Methods</u>	<u>Citations</u>
Support Groups	4
Training and Orientation	4
Organizational Change	3
Stress Management	3
Pre-service Training	3
Increased Participation	3
Improved Recruiting	2
Explicit Entry Adjustment	1
Other	4

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH

Overall Design

The basic format of this research is a "one-group pre-test-posttest" design. The subjects were M.Ed. students enrolled in a practicum in School and Counseling Psychology. A two-group study was also considered but rejected for a number of reasons. First, given the relative dearth of information on this problem, it seems too early for the conceptual convergence required for substantive experimental research—a more exploratory approach might promote a fertile divergence that would make future experimentation more relevant and meaningful.

Second, while on the surface I am looking at the experience of six practicum students in counseling, what I am more deeply studying is the underlying process of induction into organizational life. I strongly suspect that the general features of this process are not unique to counseling students but are generalizable across all occupations.

Third, a truly experimental design must be based on a randomly drawn sample of a larger population. In this case, I was limited to studying a pre-existing class that came intact with its own demographic profile. While it is most likely similar to other practicum classes held on other semesters in the same program, this constraint violates the basic assumption of experimental design and in-

ferential statistics. However, even if I had been able to randomly select the students, I would only be able to generalize to the larger population from which it was drawn, i.e., other master's level counseling students at the University of Massachusetts. In this situation, I think the potential gain of an in-depth study of one relatively homogenous group outweighs the restricted generalizability of a two-group experiment.

Fourth, and finally, a one-group design is appropriate when dealing with attitudes and behaviors that are stable and unlikely to change without significant effort (Borg and Gall, 1983). Under the proposed conditions for this study, therefore, a control group is not as critical, since there are fewer potential influences on the outcome. It seems reasonable that by the time one reaches adulthood, one's attitudes towards groups and one's behavior upon entering new groups is fairly well entrenched. The fundamental issues ("Am I included? Am I liked? How much influence and control do I have?") are psychological ones that are rooted in early family learning and socialization processes. They are not likely to change without deliberate effort. It is also unlikely that many individuals, or organizations, devote much conscious attention to the process of inclusion and the related affective experience.

Subjects

At the primary level, the research focused on a single practicum class of graduate students at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst campus). Seven students began the class; but one was dropped from the study because he chose not to complete the necessary questionnaires, journal, and assessment project. All the subjects were white. Five were middle class, and one strongly identified with his working class roots. Five were interning as guidance counselors and the sixth was a community mental health worker. Of the guidance counselors, four were interning at public high schools and one at a private elementary school. Three were in their mid-twenties to early thirties and new to the field, although two had had some prior counseling experience. The other three were in their mid-thirties to mid-forties and had at least five years of experience in the field.

At a secondary level, the focus is on the changes in the site organizations that can be related to the students' interaction with site members. The intent was not to directly or experimentally manipulate these organizations but, rather, to note any changes that were introduced as a result of the interaction between the students and the organization.

Intent

This one-group study was intended to describe the induction of counseling students at their respective practicum sites. The focus was on their experience as it related to becoming members of a specific organization and the broader profession of counseling.

The primary intent of the experimental design (see Figure 1 at the end of this chapter) was to explicitly direct the subjects' attention to the organizational context of their practicum site. Rather than passively allowing the organization to dictate their experience, they were encouraged to actively engage in co-construction of organizational life. At the secondary level, the intent was to explore the effect of this co-construction on the organization itself. The results are conceptualized as: (1) effects on the subjects; and (2) effects on the organizations within which they work.

Variables

The independent variable was a structured intervention (described in detail below) consisting of twelve one-hour weekly sessions throughout the fall semester of 1990. This seemed sufficient time to guide the students through a qualitative assessment and provide them with the opportunity to discuss and reflect upon their induction experience.

The primary dependent variable was the actual experience of the students as measured by: (a) pre-practicum and post-practicum self-assessments that were both quantitative and qualitative; (b) journal records; (c) a short paper describing the assessment project; (d) the content of video-taped class discussions; and (e) my behavioral observations during class. The secondary dependent variable was any change in organization life that might reasonably be associated with the student's intervention. These changes were determined through the same assessment tools described above.

Intervention Design

The basic task of the intervention was to assist the students in co-constructing their induction experience. Such co-construction required that they actively engage members of the organization that they might otherwise (in a typical practicum experience) encounter only passively or not at all, adopt a humanistic, non-judgmental stance toward these members, and establish relationships characterized by mutual trust and regard. The specific goals of the intervention with regard to the students were: (a) to increase their inclusion in the organization; (b) to increase their ability to influence the organization; and (c) to have a positive affective experience. A number of methods, consisting of both classwork and fieldwork, were used to achieve these goals.

Classwork

There were twelve one-hour sessions during the course of the semester. Each session was video-taped for documentation purposes. Classes were designed to provide: a supportive network and forum in which the students could explore feelings about their induction experience; cognitive frameworks for understanding organizational processes; and guidance in the qualitative assessment of the organizations.

The first class covered several topics. The purpose of the research was explained, copies of the proposal were distributed, and questions related to the research were answered as fully as possible. Assignments (journals and paper) were explained. Consent forms were reviewed and students were clearly given the option of not participating in the research. All the students gave their consent. The balance of the class was devoted to general introductions.

At the beginning of the second class, the pre-practicum questionnaires (Q1A and Q2A) were administered. The students were then engaged in a discussion focused on the following topic: "What kinds of issues come up for you when entering a new group?" Following this discussion, I presented the basic notions of qualitative assessment and assessment as intervention. I then wondered aloud how they might use this project to their advantage. At the end of the class, they were asked to identify and share some po-

tential assessment topics relevant to their experience and site organization.

After a brief check-in, the third class was devoted to a review of basic interview skills. I again emphasized the point that the data gathering was secondary to the formation of open and trusting relationships. During the first half of the fourth class, the students discussed some of their induction experiences. During the second half, they privately constructed their interview protocols and then reviewed them in pairs.

The fifth class began with a progress review of each person's assessment project and finished with general sharing related to the induction experience. Shutz's theory (1973) of organizational behavior (inclusion, influence and affective experience) was presented in the sixth class followed by more general discussion and sharing of induction experiences. The next five classes (seven through eleven) were devoted to general discussion of induction experiences and progress on the assessment project. In the twelfth, and final class, the students presented their learnings as organizational members. They also completed the post-practicum questionnaires (Q1B and Q2B) and a class evaluation.

Fieldwork

Subjects were assigned the task of positively engaging their organization through the conduct of a qualitative

assessment using interview techniques. A short paper (2-10 pages) summarizing their findings and their assessment experience was required at the end of the semester. They were also asked to make at least one journal entry for each on-site day and to reflect upon their experience as a new member of the work organization.

Procedures and Timelines

The intervention was conducted (and the data gathered) between September 12, 1990 and December 12, 1990. Self-assessment questionnaires were administered on September 12 and December 12. Journals and assessment papers and learnings were collected on December 12, 1991. The data was organized and analyzed during January and February of 1991. Results were summarized and conclusions determined during March, 1991.

Data Collection and Analysis

The construction of the self-assessment questionnaires was informed by Shutz's (1973) theory of organizational life. This theory hypothesizes three dimensions by which the organizational life of members can be examined: inclusion, influence, and affective experience. The first pair of pre-practicum and post-practicum questionnaires (Q1A and Q1B) were designed to elicit open-ended responses in each of Shutz's dimensions. The second pair of questionnaires (Q2A and Q2B) were designed to provide a succinct and quantifiable measurement of the qualitative information elic-

ited by the pre-practicum questionnaires. Each of these second questionnaires was, essentially, a visual Likert scale using descriptors that were scored as follows: "very" = 4; "moderate" = 3; "minimally" = 2; and "not at all" = 1. Mean scores were calculated and then compared using t test for significance.

The data was analysed as follows: First, all the qualitative data was organized by subject into individual packets containing questionnaires Q1A and Q1B, relevant and representative excerpts from journal records, excerpts from the assessment paper, excerpts from transcriptions of video-taped class discussions, subjects' oral and written presentations of "learnings" at the last class. Second, I immersed myself in several readings of each subject's data packet and then coded the data into several categories: background information, internship experience, assessment project, learnings, and site evaluations. Third, I organized the information within each category and presented it in narrative form. The narratives were supplemented with additional commentary based on my class observations and an informal assessment of each subject's cognitive-developmental levels with regard to membership in a work organization.

This aspect of the assessment, belatedly conceived midway through the intervention, was intended to supplement the conceptual framework provided by Shutz's theory and

focuses more on the broad developmental changes experienced by the students during the induction process. It is based on theories of cognitive-development by Ivey (1986, 1991) and Carey (1989). Briefly, these models are rooted in the work of Piaget and postulate several levels of development. For Ivey these are: Sensori-motor, Pre-operational, Concrete-Operational, Formal-Operational, and Dialectic/Systemic. Carey's model includes similar stages (Elemental, Concrete, Formal, and Postformal) but adds the notions of: the "target" of cognitions (self, other, and self-other interaction), and the "domain" of operation (affect, cognition, and behavior).

[It is important to realize that these levels have a linear sequence only in the sense that they are metaphorically derived from Piaget's work with the chronological development of children. In adults, the sequence is not necessarily linear and emphatically does not constitute a hierarchy of "lesser" to "better." Also, as Carey cautions, development is domain specific. So, while a subject may exhibit one level of cognitive development with regard to the interaction of self and organization, he or she may have an entirely different level in the domain of counseling or parenting, for example.]

For our purposes, Sensori-motor, Pre-operational, and Elemental levels are to be collectively referred to as "Pre-operational" and indicate a preference for sensory

language, events, and magical thinking in describing the self and the organization. "Concrete" operations refer to a preference for focusing on a linear sequence of events, simple heuristics, and a concern for the details and specifics of organizational life. "Formal" operations indicate a more conceptual approach: searching for patterns in one's own behavior as well as the organization's, and questioning the efficacy of one's established schemas.

"PostFormal" operations are those which demonstrate the subject's ability to engage the organization in the co-construction of new meaning and possibility as well as deconstructing established meanings and constraints.

Threats to validity

Internal Validity

Internal validity is endangered by expectancy, history, maturation and selection. Obviously, if the intervention explicitly directs attention to participation in organizational life and that is the very phenomenon being measured, then the subjects will most likely expect change in that arena. I argue, however, that the one of the key elements in any psychological intervention (individual, family or organizational) is the creation of an expectancy of change in the desired direction. Therefore, while expectancy biases the experiment, the act of biasing attention is the whole point of the experiment. The danger in this research was that I might be so biased in favor of the

expected outcome that I would minimize or overlook contrary data. In addition to being on guard for that eventuality myself, I depended upon my advisor to ask the hard questions that I might unconsciously avoid.

The small number of subjects and practicum sites present potentially greater difficulties. Any number of events beyond my control can occur in the practicum site. The effects of funding problems, internal politics and other events could overwhelm the intervention effect. Likewise, with a very small sample of subjects, there can be such a range of individual differences (experience, personality, maturity, gender, race and other cultural variables) that these could also overwhelm the intervention effects. Conclusions, therefore, are descriptive and suggestive in nature rather than definitive.

The question of maturation is more problematic. Assuming, for the moment, that the subjects experience change in the expected direction of increased inclusion, influence, and affective experience, to what degree would this happen anyway? This is where a two-group study would have provided a second reference point for evaluating the change. Even with a two-group study, however, this is, to a large degree, an unanswerable question, since we cannot relive the past, and we do not understand the interaction of personological factors with the intervention. At this point, I feel that the best mechanism for understanding the

contribution of maturation to the overall effect is the students' own testimony. After all, I am relying on their self-report for the pretest, posttest, and journal entries.

External Validity

Strictly speaking, external validity is threatened primarily by factors associated with the population. First, the subjects are graduate students in a counseling program at a particular university. We can not safely generalize to other students in counseling programs at other institutions. There is no way of knowing whether our subjects are a representative sample of that population. We also do not know the degree to which their demographic characteristics (age, experience, gender, race, etc.) will influence their participation in the experiment.

Less strictly speaking, the intent of this study is not to produce results that can be safely generalized to other, similar populations but, rather, to explore the nature of the induction experience and the effects of a particular type of intervention. In this vein, convincing external validity is not sought. My hope is that, if the effects produced in this study seem significant, then other similar studies might replicate the general effects in different professional populations: teachers; lawyers; internal consultants; municipal employees; etc.

Ecological threats (due the students' full awareness of the research goals and methods) are not a great concern

for the reasons described earlier. The intervention is intended to stimulate reactive effects so that the subjects are explicitly aware that they are involved in a meta-intervention focused on their co-construction of the induction experience. The pretest questionnaires, for example, direct attention toward the induction experience.

Risks to Subjects

The primary risk to subjects was that they were being encouraged to engage the organization and, consequently, might have been caught in organizational dynamics and politics for which they are unprepared. This may have resulted in an associated emotional cost that might have been avoided had they remained unaware or disengaged. This potential was minimized by two factors: (1) the supportive nature of the weekly class sessions during which these very issues were elicited for discussion with peers (as well as the researcher); and (2) the availability of the training supervisor for guidance and/or intervention with the site supervisor.

A special sub-category of risk in this context was the issue of confidentiality. Subjects were asked to interview a number of members at different hierarchical and functional levels within the organization. If the norm for confidentiality were not explicitly addressed with interviewees, the students may have gotten entangled in conflicts of allegiance and violation of expectations.

Each interviewee was to be told that his or her data would be included in a student paper read only by the researcher and his committee members.

With regard to confidentiality within the organization, the subjects were encouraged to use the following principle: all data is confidential unless all interviewees explicitly agree that it may be shared within the organization. In other words, no data was to be discussed unless all interviewees agree to share it freely. The students were instructed that if the later turned out to be the case, they would receive close guidance from the researcher in managing any discussions of the data within the organization.

There was also a risk, at the secondary level, that the students' assessments might produce organizational changes that were uncomfortable to specific members. It seemed unlikely, however, that an intern student would be the sole and critical element in the initiation of major change. Again, both the researcher and training supervisor were alert to this possibility and available for on-site intervention.

Informed Consent

All subjects were informed of the research at the outset. The purpose, description of the process, effect on grade, the voluntary nature of participation, the rules of confidentiality and the opportunity to choose an equivalent

assignment were explained during the first and subsequent classes. Students were informed that, while direct quotations will be used in the Results section of this dissertation and subsequent publications, all names will be removed and persons and sites disguised.

There was no penalty for not volunteering and subjects were allowed to withdraw at any time after consultation. One student, in fact, withdrew without consultation by simply not completing the requested assignments. The practicum training supervisor was prepared to offer an equivalent assignment to those who chose not to volunteer. All signed the Informed Consent form (see Appendix A).

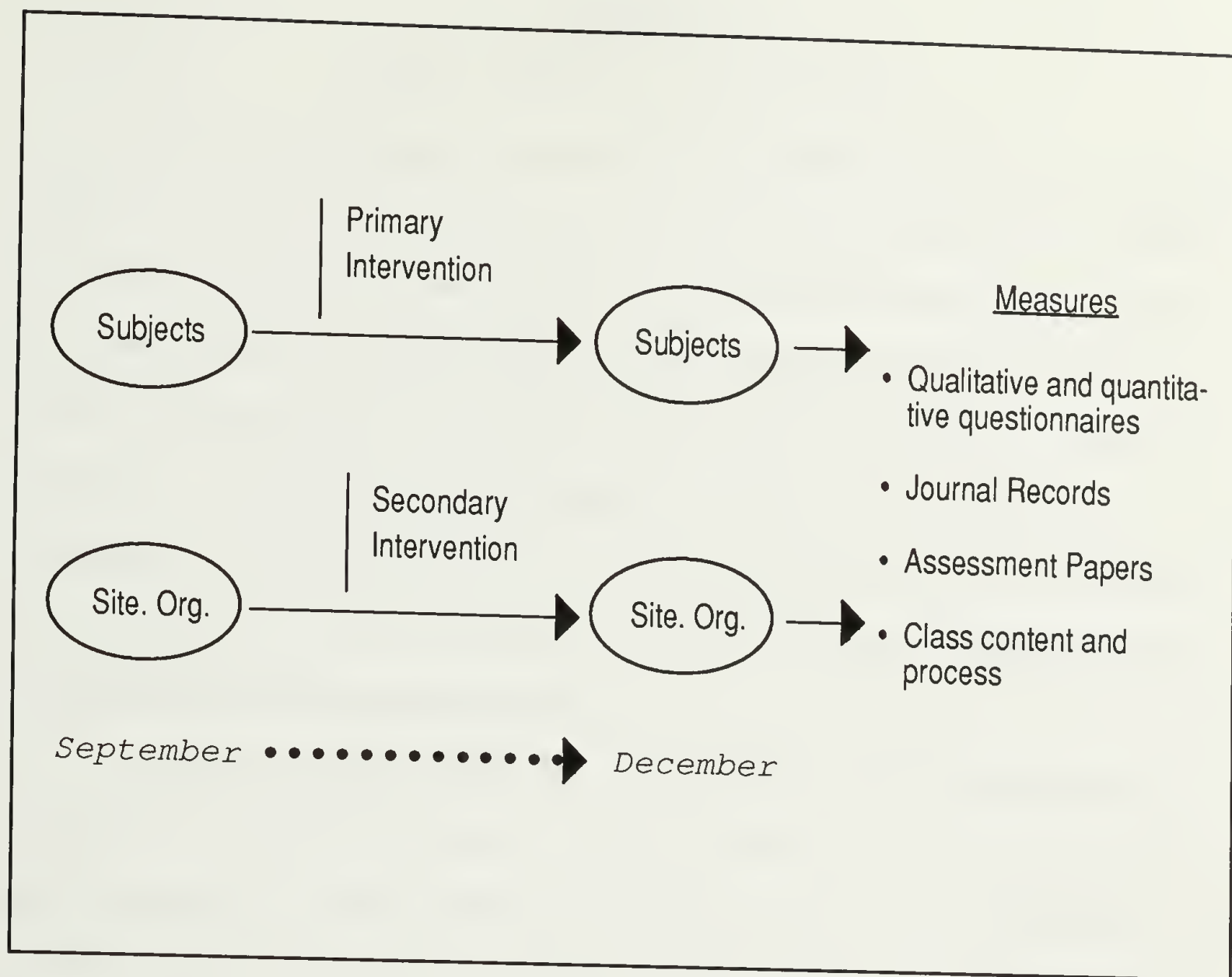


Figure 1: Overall Design

CHAPTER 4

DATA, ANALYSIS, AND RESULTS

In this chapter, I present the quantitative data from Q2A and Q2B for all students and then the qualitative data for each student in sequence. To preserve anonymity, the students were assigned fictitious names in alphabetical order corresponding to the order of presentation in this chapter. Following these results, there is a thematic analysis of the overall results in terms of the literature, and the primary and secondary effects of the intervention.

Quantitative Data and Results

A one-tailed t-test was performed on the aggregated pretest and posttest mean scores (see Table 4 at the end of this chapter). The results were significant at the .01 level and are notable in that five of the six students' scores changed in the desired direction while the sixth, which was rather high initially, showed no change.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, however, such conclusions are probably not warranted due to the unspecified influence of maturation and other variables. It does demonstrate, however we interpret causality, that the students' felt improvement in the dimensions of inclusion, influence, and positive affect. As a picture of the induction experience of these six practicum students, this positive change is a salient feature and was perceived by the lowest and the highest scorers.

Qualitative Data

Subject A

Allen is a 30 year old, white male, with eight years of prior experience in youth counseling as both a counselor and a director. During the time of this study, he was interning two days a week as a public high school guidance counselor. Allen planned to graduate the following semester with an M.Ed. in Counseling and to seek employment as a School Guidance Counselor.

He expressed confidence and enthusiasm about entering the site and felt, based on the first few days' experience, that he would have an opportunity to demonstrate his competence and be accepted as a professional. Allen hoped that he would be able to "show what I can do" and become an active, contributing member of the organization. His positive expectations are expressed in his initial goal of "overhauling" a work experience program.

While this might seem an ambitious goal for a part-time intern in a new environment, Allen approached the task with an experienced eye. He did not personalize the teachers' initial lack of response to his inquiries about various situations but, rather, accepted the pressures they were under and bided his time. He was curious about the system's social structure ("where the power lies . . . channels of communication") and expressed some anxiety that his attitudes might not "mesh" with the system's. He was

concerned that if he challenged the status quo, he might jeopardize this learning opportunity as well as potential references that might help him locate a position after graduation. Nonetheless, he was determined to accomplish something of worth.

Clearly, Allen had some prior experience with organizational life and a solidly formal understanding of himself and work systems. His comments during the first few classes were those of a person who is confident but alert, and quite comfortable operating in the cognitive mode.

Internship Experience. Most of Allen's work in the Guidance Department focused on adjusting students' class schedules, placing new students in classes, and dealing with a "barrage of paperwork and regulations." It was also emotionally difficult. "Being able to empathize and connect with the kids . . . is what helps me do the work that I do. But it's a double-edged sword because there's also a piece [the students who don't thrive or who return at night to dysfunctional families] that's always hurting and hanging with you."

The impression Allen conveyed of his work was one of fast-paced chaos that would not fit neatly into the confines of a daily schedule book or plan. When I asked him how he was able to keep things straight, he replied that he kept lists in his head, and whenever he saw someone in the hallways that he needed to do business with, he would stop

and talk to them. "My day is broken into 40 or 50 clients it's like triage." While one might think that the volume of work would wind down once school was underway, this was not the case. Allen noted in a journal entry late in the semester: "This was a grueling week for guidance . . . six new students . . . none of them easy [to place]."

Allen also realized that a tempting defense against such stress levels would be to become "one more uncaring, uncompassionate, paper-shuffling" bureaucrat, but he refused to let that happen to himself. Compounding the heavy workload was a frustrating lack of cooperation by other members of the system. Parents would not provide information, students would make excuses, and teachers would try to negotiate schedule changes.

For example, a teacher offered "to accept a new student only if [Allen] were to get a specific student out of [the] class." In another situation, the Guidance Department was led to believe that an entire academic department had agreed upon a course of action. The guidance counselors then communicated this information to the parents, only to discover that it was the opinion of a minority and not the entire department after all. Allen felt that it was "unfair that both Guidance and students should bear the brunt of scheduling miscues" caused by teachers.

These experiences led Allen to reflect that "it seems that those with the least power (especially the students) have the potential to be the most negatively influenced by these flaws [in the system]." Since many of the problems, in particular the curriculum issues described below, had existed for several years, it would seem also that the Guidance Department was among those with the "least power." During the sixth class, I asked Allen who his primary "customer" was. He replied without hesitation, "The kids. But that's not the politically correct answer."

Allen's initial reaction to this situation was one of frustration and anger. At first he was confused as to why adults could not figure out the underlying problems and solve them. He soon realized, however, that the teachers also felt organizationally impotent. "The faculty do not feel that they play a major role in the process indirectly using the students' pain as a pawn to effect the changes they so desperately wanted but felt powerless to otherwise achieve." Additionally, he understood the administration's reluctance to raise problems that might lead the school committee and community to ask why the problems had been allowed to continue for so long.

It is interesting to note that when Allen heard teachers complaining about students being at large without passes, the teachers assumed that the administration was at fault because "they" must have known about the situation

and deliberately chosen to ignore it. While this may have been true, none of the faculty attempted to verify the assumption. Such behavior (blanketly ascribing malicious motives to another person or group, blaming, and not verifying assumptions) is clearly evidence of pre-operational or elemental thinking at the organizational level.

The lack of open contact and communication among organizational constituencies about problems, assumptions, and feelings effectively prevents potential change and creates self-fulfilling prophecies. This inertia is further strengthened when specific, real people become the target of projected attitudes about "them." Even Allen, initially, found himself "adopting the prevalent negative attitude toward the 'beast' which was the organization."

Typically, the head of the organization becomes a symbolic target for the accumulated emotions and unexpressed assumptions in the system. Indeed, Allen's early impressions of the Principal "were based on faculty comments...usually negative or critical." Yet after Allen had formed a relationship of some trust with the Principal, he saw "a side of him which I had not been privy to up to this point...I got the sense that he is a very committed professional who cares about the students and is really trying to make a difference." And what a difference knowing that can make! Yet, it is precisely such information that a "stuck" organization avoids.

Assessment Project. During his first few weeks, Allen spent much of his time dealing with scheduling problems related to the school's math curriculum. Not surprisingly then, he decided to explore the process of curriculum change in the Math Department (how it happened, who initiated it, what the process was) by interviewing math teachers, students, the Department Head, Vice Principal, and Principal. Allen and I talked informally after the fourth class about the possibility of change flowing from the simple act of naively inquiring about the change process. We realized that such an inquiry about change presupposed the potential for change—which might be a novel presupposition to introduce into the existing organizational culture.

He found, after talking with his supervisor, that the problem had existed for many years, and the people who had the power to change the curriculum were "hyper-invested" in some of the course offerings. Several faculty told him that these courses were the Chairman's "babies" and could not be removed from the curriculum. Allen noted that the communication was poor among the faculty and, despite their frustration over the problem, they did not seem, as a group, to have the desire to change the situation. The teachers felt that they had not caused the problems, and therefore, weren't responsible for fixing them. Allen wondered if they had simply given up.

Allen began by feeling that he, a mere intern, was neither able nor responsible for calling the organization to task. But, as he asked "questions about 'why' . . . instead of totally giving in and going with the flow," he began to offer suggestions that were well received by his supervisor and the Principal. "I began to feel challenged to not simply complain about the status quo . . . but to try to make it more workable. In turn, I feel this also started to influence others around me to also look at new ways of doing things."

One of the things that Allen did was to research and document the effects of the current process. He found, for example, that 14 out of 15 students in Algebra II had not been recommended for that class (they did not complete Algebra I) but had been assigned simply "to fill out the class so it could be offered The vast majority of these students were being blown away." No wonder he felt, once the change process had begun, that "the progress toward changing the math curriculum after so many years of stagnation is exciting."

Learnings. It seems that Allen formed at least three explicit learnings from his experience: First, he found that he was readily accepted and included in the organization. Part of this was due to his supervisor who tried to include him in as many aspects of the job as possible. This made him "feel that I am regarded not as an intern,

but as a third member of the guidance team." This sense of inclusion was further confirmed when a well-regarded teacher mentioned to him that he "had heard nothing but good things' [about Allen] . . . and that the other counselors really appreciated having [him] there."

A second learning was that he could be an integral part of large-system change. "I have found that I really have been heard and have contributed to some of the changes that have begun to occur." Allen attributed some of this success to the fact that he was an outsider and could "innocently" ask why things were they way they were without being perceived as having a hidden agenda. From this position, he was able to develop positive relationships with teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators that allowed him to have a voice in the overall process of curriculum change. It seems clear to me that Allen operated at a postformal level in all three modalities (behavior, affect and cognition) as he co-constructed new meaning with the organization.

The third learning related to his career direction. Despite the pleasing success of Allen's assessment project, the overall internship experience did not leave him with positive feelings about a career as a guidance counselor. His pessimistic conclusion was that "You can't get there [helping students] from here because of the system . . . [because of] running up against teachers 'just doing their

job', and the kid is getting screwed, and there's nothing you can do about it." Our class discussions, in which other students corroborated his impressions of the bureaucratic frustration and emotional stress, reaffirmed his need for a career that was more focused on providing direct service in counseling.

Again, this reflects a postformal level of development in all three modalities: Allen recognized his feelings, the pattern of organizational events that contributed to those negative feelings, and began to consider behavioral changes that would alter his situation in a positive direction. "A personal frustration," he noted in his journal at the end of the semester, "has been the dearth of opportunities for connecting . . . with the students The question for me is will it [a career in guidance] be satisfying enough?"

Subject B

Barbara is a 43 year old, white female, with considerable prior experience as an educational therapist, special education teacher, and director of an alternative school. She has an M.A. in Education and expects to receive her Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study within six months. After that she may continue to work at her current site (an alternative school) or seek a public school position in elementary guidance.

Her internship was split between two sites: the private school in which she has worked for five years as a counselor and a public school which was new to her. We decided that for the purposes of this research, we would consider the public school as the focus for the learning and assessment project. The drawback to this decision was that she would be on site only two and a half hours per week, which would, necessarily, attenuate the normal rate of inclusion.

During the second class, Barbara volunteered that, on the way to work that morning, for the first time in five years, she felt confident that she really knew what her work was and that she was capable of doing it. Indeed, her worst fear about the internship was that she would be "found out" and others would see that she didn't know what she was doing.

Her hopes were that, at the new site, she would be seen as a colleague and a resource. She expected, however, as a newcomer and an intern, that she would have to earn this credibility. In general, she felt interest, curiosity, and excitement when she contemplated the forthcoming semester. In terms of influence, her ambitions were modest. She thought that perhaps she might be able to share some skills with teachers and help some of the students receive needed services.

It seemed to me, as Barbara began the semester, that she had considerable experience in organizational life and operated primarily at a formal level of cognitive development, although there were some pre-operational aspects in the affective mode. She reported, for example, being comfortable upon entering new work groups if she were sure of her competence. The unspoken corollary, of course, was that the same comfort might not exist with a non-work group or if her competence were in question. My initial sense was that she might have deeper anxieties around her self-worth that could have clouded her perception of her interaction with the organization.

Internship Experience. As we might expect, given her limited time on site, inclusion was an early concern. Her journal contains a poignant description of her first day: "I felt lost . . . didn't know my way around. Didn't know a soul. Wandered around . . . introduced myself to the Principal . . . He spoke and walked away . . . Introduced myself to the classroom teacher . . . Her response . . . mixed with non-verbal cues, made me feel unwelcomed and unappreciated." Meeting this same teacher a week later only reinforced this initial impression: "Her only expression was one of despair. She didn't remember my name."

Fortunately, her supervisor had "a fantastic way of making me feel very valued and included." Interestingly,

in one of her first meetings with the teachers, the supervisor explicitly recognized the marginality of her role while at the same time including her by saying: "Barbara, as an outsider, what do you think of . . .?" Barbara reported that this made her feel good since it both included her and named her unique status in the group. With just two and a half hours per week for one semester, she felt there was no realistic way that she could become as included as a regular intern (let alone a full-time employee) and did not want to pretend otherwise.

Just as there was limited time for developing inclusion, there was also limited time for accomplishing work. "I'm feeling frustrated," she noted in her journal, "because anything I want to do here requires more follow-up and organization than two and a half hours a week makes possible." Exacerbating this situation was the difficulty of gauging results. In some of our early class discussions, Barbara referred to the "elusive nature of counseling results." How, she wondered (along with the rest of us), does one know if a guidance counselor is successful?

At mid-semester, before completing the assessment project, she was still wrestling with these issues although progress was being made. She noted that she was "feeling more and more included by staff these days" although it was still "frustrating trying to meet with the Principal. He's

always in a rush. When talking, I never know how long he will stay."

The balance of the semester was pretty much the same for Barbara. She did have, however, a notable success in spotting a student who was in serious psychiatric difficulty (hearing voices). She consulted with the school psychiatrist and then set up a meeting with the parents and the psychiatrist. The meeting went very well. In class, Barbara said that, while this was a very heavy experience and something she had not done before, she felt very influential at the meeting: "I called it. I knew what I wanted out of it. And I got it." We gave her a round of applause.

Assessment Project. Barbara's project began with a general question about the "elusive nature of counseling results." Ultimately, she formally interviewed two teachers and the Principal (as well as informally interviewing other members) on the following question: "How would I know if I was successful?" From the outset, Barbara displayed a postformal awareness of the implications of this process. In class, she commented that, "This will cue them that I want feedback and that it's ok, and that we both know it will happen." By asking the question, she introduced the presupposition that it would happen.

Along the way, she made the important observation that "Everyone sees the role of guidance differently So

no one must be very satisfied." Were she to stay in the system longer, this would be a very relevant issue to bring into the open and upon which to achieve consensus. A totally unexpected effect, however, was the change in her relationship with the Principal.

Prior to their interview, he had remained relatively inaccessible and emotionally remote. Shortly after the interview, though, he appeared in her office for the first time and said, "I really need to make more time for the [regular] guidance counselor, and I've figured out how to do that." Not only is this a significant change in the organization's dynamic, but Barbara found that her relationship with him had become warm and friendly. In class, she reported calling in to the school and having the Principal pick up the phone, recognize her voice, and respond with a friendly "Oh hi!"

Learnings. Barbara has learned at least two things from her experience: The first learning is quite explicit and reveals a postformal level of development. "Doing these interviews I learned a tremendous amount with very little effort . . . about the value of sitting down with people and hearing their point of view and about how changes can be made through subtle means."

Such changes, Barbara realizes now, are not confined to the organization "out there" but touch even the self that is observing and participating in the changes. "I

also learned that sitting down with people and asking them these questions helps create a tie of relationship. After the interviews I felt more comfortable with informal contacts. I was aware that people used my name more often and generally included me in conversations."

A second learning was about her self-worth: "I learned something about myself, too. I was reluctant to take up people's time, but everybody was very willing, and they really liked it!" My sense, at the end of the semester, was that Barbara had gained additional verification of both her competence and her general attractiveness as a person. This might enable her to move well beyond a pre-operational feeling about herself with regard to other organizational members.

Subject C

Carol is a young, white female with prior experience in residential and agency counseling. She expects to graduate with an M.Ed. during the next year and will seek a position in the field of school guidance. Her internship as guidance counselor was at a high school familiar to her from previous experience, though not in the same role.

As she said, "I have worked in this system before and feel accepted by guidance personnel and administration." Carol felt some uncertainty about what the experience would be like, but hoped that she would "be recognized as a professional in the organization." Her greatest anxiety, in

contemplating the forthcoming experience, was that there would not be enough to do and she would feel "aimless and lost."

Carol hoped that she would be able to influence students who might otherwise get "lost in the shuffle" and, perhaps, alter the attitudes of the school toward its students. My initial sense of Carol was that, while she experienced some anxiety, she had a basic confidence in her ability and some strong convictions about the role and ethics of counseling. Her understanding of organizations was well into the concrete stage and focused primarily on the behavioral modality.

Internship Experience. Despite being familiar with the site, Carol found that she was not automatically included. A teacher she met with "was unaware of [Carol's] position in the school. This confirmed my intention to make every effort to introduce myself to all the teachers. It also made me feel excluded somehow." In another situation, she was asked to participate in an annual review of a student, but when all the parties arrived (parents, teachers, counselors and administrators), they went into a room and shut the door—leaving her sitting in the anteroom. Fortunately, her supervisor came back out and invited her into the meeting.

There were other awkward situations as well. No one told her that there was a separate lunch line for staff

until after she had waited in the student line. At another time she was asked to get a student out of a classroom, but no one told her the protocol for doing that. Should she page the student? Would the teacher be upset at the interruption? Again, when she was asked to confer with the Principal, "It dawned on me that I didn't know how to go about speaking with [him] I didn't know the norms for conducting business."

Like Allen, Carol was also shocked and discouraged at the attitude of teachers toward students. Early in the semester, she wrote in her journal, that "I am continually amazed and dismayed by teacher attitude Dealing with the anger such apathy brings up in me will be difficult." She also found herself irked by a counselor's reluctance to administer an untimed SAT to a student (whom she believed had a learning disability) because there was no honorarium involved. Her frustration over the helplessness of students reached an "almost political level" when she tried to work with a student who had no home to go to for Thanksgiving.

A major incident occurred which demonstrated Carol's firm grounding in ethics and personal conviction: She overheard a female student describing an incident of sexual harassment by a male teacher. She reported this to her supervisor but "received little support for pushing the issue. The message seemed to be, 'It will make everyone

look bad.'" Carol was unwilling to let the matter drop and discussed it with her clinical supervisor at the University who expressed his unequivocal support so that she wouldn't "have to fight the battle alone." She met with the student and written complaints were filed, which led to a reprimand for the teacher. Needless to say, this was a courageous act on the part of a person who was not just a newcomer to the organization but a student intern as well.

As the semester progressed, Carol came to feel more included in the organization. When she was absent one day, she found out afterward that students had been asking for her and she said, "I loved it!" She received indirect feedback from a teacher that her supervisor felt she was quite proficient. During her assessment interview with the guidance director, she received unsolicited praise. Near the end of the semester, she wrote in her journal that, "Teachers seem increasingly willing to discuss cases with me and involve me. In the beginning they seemed more apt to talk to my supervisor." In the final class she said, "I'm really enjoying my work The high spots came towards the end because I knew the students--their goals, aspirations, etc. Thus, I could become more involved with them . . . and I felt like I was really being helpful."

Carol, like Barbara, also discovered that there was considerable confusion within the school about the role of guidance. Some believed that the primary mission was to

support college-bound students, while others felt the work should focus on the "have-nots." Additionally, the lack of space within the school resulted in the Guidance Department sharing a waiting room with the Discipline Office which made the "climate of advocacy clouded by disciplinary sanction." Certainly, this is not the best of situations for counseling.

Assessment Project. Carol's project grew out of her suspicion that much of the positive publicity her site was receiving was merely due to the cynical manipulation of the Principal for his own benefit. She decided to interview the Principal, Director of Guidance, a guidance counselor, two teachers, and a program coordinator. Her questions were aimed at determining whether or not the publicized progress was true and, if so, who should be credited for the successes.

She found that the publicity for the school was not only deserved but also "undoubtedly benefited the entire system" because it counteracted an historically negative community attitude. She found that it was due to the strong efforts of a dedicated few (including the Principal) who were "perilously close to burnout" as a consequence. Much to her surprise, she found that the Principal was not an unprincipled opportunist, but, rather, a key strong supporter of the internal changes. During the interview, he talked about his commitment to staff development, and she

mentally dismissed his statements as self-serving. Some time later, however, when she went looking for him, she found that he was in a classroom working with a teacher and that, according to others, this was not uncommon behavior for him.

Another interesting twist was that, during her interview with the Principal, he noted that this was a change in her role from her previous work at the school, and asked how that change process was going for her. He also gave her advice on how to be effective within the organization. He urged her to get out of her office and into the halls: "A lot of business is conducted through hallway management."

During the final class, Carol stated, "I ended up in a much less cynical place . . . not that in the sense that I still think its a little bit of a snowjob and I think he is a political person, but where I changed is that's his beauty and its been positive for the town and that school system."

Learnings. It seems to me that Carol learned two significant things during the semester: One was with regard to the nature of guidance counseling work--the frustration inherent in working within a system that can produce apathy in teachers and helplessness in students. The other was in terms of herself. Clearly, Carol has strong ethical convictions and the strength to act upon them. Also, she has

learned the value of checking out her pre-operational thinking about the motivations of others, especially those in positions of power. This is strong evidence of her movement during the semester from concrete into more formal operations.

Subject D

Diane is a young, white woman moving directly from undergraduate to graduate school. Her previous work experience is limited to undergraduate practicums in elementary education. She expects to receive an M.Ed. in Counseling but is unsure of her future career direction. Her internship was as a high school counselor.

At the outset, Diane expressed that she felt more confident with respect to the internship when compared to her undergraduate experience. She felt some anxiety about inadvertently offending people and being viewed as not useful or important. She believed, however, that, if she persevered, she could "push" this apprehension and do well. She hoped to be able to influence the school to include more opportunities for counseling students in groups. Diane seemed bright and capable. In class, she demonstrated a formal level of understanding with respect to interpersonal relations and a clear preference for the cognitive modality.

Internship Experience. Diane experienced some of the same confusion about roles and rules as the other subjects.

Her journal includes numerous entries that describe her quandaries. "Whose responsibility is it to inform the teacher?" "Kids turned [for counseling] to whoever [sic] they felt comfortable with Hall duty--how do I know who should have a pass? Someone should have informed her: who????"

Diane also echoed some of the same disillusionment expressed by Allen and Carol during the second class when she said that it seemed like some of "...the teachers have given up on youth." Clearly, this disturbed her. In the following class, she expressed her frustration with some heat. She felt caught between doing things the way she believed they ought to be done and her reluctance to "offend or railroad the teachers." Her comments triggered an immediate and emotional reaction from Ellen, who had spent 20 years as a high school teacher, and who pointed out, almost condescendingly, that Diane didn't understand how things really worked.

As we sorted through this emotional interaction, Diane acknowledged that she had a tendency to be judgmental, especially of teachers. Ellen admitted to feeling defensive when teachers were attacked (even though she is currently a guidance counselor in conflict with teachers herself). I pointed out that we had just experienced, here in the class, the classic conflict between new and old members of an organization.

Later in the semester, Diane expressed her feelings of emotional overload. "A lot of other things in my life," she explained, ". . . school, work, family, etc. . . . seems like an endless problem that will never get resolved and when I'm faced with an endless problem that will never get resolved, I get overwhelmed." Not the least of her problems was interning at a site which she described as being "a system in crisis under pressure." Compounding her own sense of distress, Diane's site supervisor was also in a high state of stress and expressed this so continually that Diane felt like "exploding." Allen noticed the affective changes playing across Diane's face and gently suggested, "You're feeling something right now..." A few minutes later, she was able to articulate her dilemma. "I'm questioning whether I really want to be part of a system where . . . so many people are overworked, overwhelmed . . . don't know if I want to put myself in that kind of a situation [as a career] . . . I'm really questioning it." This seemed to be a critical event for Diane and caused her to consciously and explicitly question her intended career choice.

In terms of inclusion throughout the semester, she felt that she was included as much as was reasonable and that people trusted her as much as they could, given that she was new and an intern. Nonetheless, in her final summary, she wrote that the low spots of the semester were her

"feelings [her emphasis] of fear of others' thoughts toward me--sometimes I'd get nervous and can't communicate the ways I'd like to and I feared I'd be thought of as stupid."

Assessment Project. Diane's project was to better understand the organization's vision, strengths, and difficulties. She felt that doing this would better prepare her to assess how well future work sites would fit her needs and values. She interviewed the Principal, Instructional Director, School Psychologist and Dean of Students. From these interviews she acquired considerable data that allowed her to formulate her own suggestions for improvement based on ideas in two journal articles.

Two things of note occurred during the assessment process: First, Diane discovered that there was a void in the school's counseling focus--the middle third of students (ranked by ability). Diane was in that category when she was in high school. "Recently," she wrote in her paper, "I've come to the realization that my past skeletons with my own high school experience are having an effect on my thinking regarding the job and role of a guidance counselor."

Second, Diane made some spontaneous interventions during the interviews that might have been quite helpful. She was aware of some discord between two of the interviewees and found an opportunity to mention, quite honestly, to X that Y felt the staff was working well together. She be-

lieved, based on X's non-verbal response, that this was a pleasant surprise. During class, we speculated, with some wild flights of fancy, on how such a simple intervention could potentially change the organizational dynamics. During another interview, it seemed that the interviewee, in a context of rapport with Diane, may have verbalized for the first time his feelings of incipient burnout.

Learnings. Diane seemed to have three, quite personal, learnings: She began to seriously grapple with her career choice and its discordance with her values. She realized that her own past feelings about high school were being recapitulated in her current interactions in the school and that she needed to develop a greater understanding of the teachers' world. Finally, she found that when she interviewed people, "my relationship with that person improved . . . their trust in me . . . for example, [an administrator] talks freely to me about his problems." While Diane was clearly at formal and postformal levels of development in other domains (counseling theory, for example), she worked hard at grounding herself in an awareness of her pre-operational responses to the organization as well as connecting her sensori-motor experience to historical patterns in her life. Her data suggests a person earnestly struggling with pre-operational issues (recapitulation), concrete processes (roles and rules) and formal concerns (professional identity) in all three modalities.

Subject E

Ellen is a 44 year old, white female who, after 20 years of high school teaching, changed her career to guidance counseling. For the past five years she has done guidance work in the same public school where she previously taught. Ellen expects to graduate later this year with an M.Ed. in Counseling and continue in her present position. For the first few weeks of the semester, she did not have a definite internship site. Then, after she located one at local clinic, it was several more weeks before it became clear that she would not have many opportunities to perform actual counseling work (she was mostly shadowing other workers and attending meetings). Since she spent only a day a week at this site, she did not feel she could successfully complete the assessment project. We decided, therefore, to focus the learning and assessment project on her primary work site.

Internship Experience. In Ellen's case, therefore, there was no induction experience to research. Rather than dropping her from the study, however, this seemed instead an opportunity to explore the generalizability of the research design to seasoned veterans of organizational life. Would we find the same types of change effects, both personally and organizationally, with a seasoned veteran of organizational life as with new members?

Briefly, Ellen's experience with the content of guidance counseling work was quite similar to that of the other subjects. She agreed with them that the role of guidance in a public school was very difficult and frustrating. She spoke of the "sheer impossibility" of ensuring that 78 seniors knew what they had to do in order to graduate. She had a client population of 250-300 students and only 35 time slots a week in which to see them. She agreed with Allen that much of the work was also of a "triage" nature. Often, the only way she knew of problems was often when "They come in bang like that" and suddenly she found herself dealing with an apparently well-adjusted child who revealed a problem with bulimia, an alcoholic mother and the difficulties living with her father and her new step-mother.

Where Ellen differed from the other subjects was in the way she conceptualized her experience and made meaning out of it. With Allen, Barbara, Carol, and Diane, class discussion centered on their new experiences. My interventions were aimed at helping them make sense out of their organizational experience. Ellen, however, already had a well-established schema for making meaning. Most of my class interventions, accordingly, were aimed at challenging this schema in order to create potential for personal and organizational change.

The most striking characteristic of Ellen's organizational schema was the impotence of her role (and, indeed, the role of all teachers and counselors) versus the potency of the role of administrators. In the first class, she described her membership on a two-year old committee and how frustrated she was because "they" (the administrative members of the committee) "never did anything" with recommendations and so it was pointless for her to offer any. This suggested to me that her developmental level in the organizational domain was somewhere between pre-operational and concrete, and that her preferred modality was affective. This initial inference was borne out in subsequent discussions. Ellen was a consistent and vocal contributor to the class. Her contributions were largely composed of advice-giving in the form of operational heuristics, such as: "Rules are made and then broken by those who made them;" "You can't tell teachers what to do;" "They never listen;" "If you need to take a day off, you just call in sick. That's what everyone does." Ellen's presentation was typically quite animated, emphatic, and her liberal use of words like "always," "never," "everyone," etc., underscored the pre-operational nature of her organizational world.

My hypothesis was that Ellen was caught in a self-fulfilling prophecy that mitigated against the possibility of personal and organizational change. It seemed as though

her experience as a teacher and counselor in an oppressive system had led her to a chronic feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness. This feeling was made tolerable by pre-operational thinking that ascribed malicious motivations to particular persons or groups in power. Since she had no reason to think she could change their motives (especially if she failed to verify them), her behavior became avoidant. As she said, in reference to a vice principal who screamed at her in front of others, "So how do I cope? I become silent and let the storm pass."

Clearly, as long as Ellen failed to challenge her own thinking and behavior, she would remain a victim. My hope was that, if I or others in the class could effectively confront the paradoxes inherent in this recursive behavior-feeling-cognition loop, she might find opportunities to alter the status quo of her situation.

Early in the semester, as Ellen was searching for an assessment topic, she thought to ask "How are decisions really made [her emphasis]?" When I asked what she meant by "really made," she replied that everyone knew the Principal had his hand in everything. I then wondered aloud whether or not the assessment question might be perceived as rhetorical. "Oh no," she replied, "It could be one of the two vice principals that is really running things but I have no way of knowing that." A class member then sug-

gested asking some teachers but Ellen dismissed that because "They don't have any power, either."

Ellen then wondered about asking "What services can the Guidance Department give [the school]?" She expressed fear, however, that, if she asked this question of the senior administrators, they might respond by cutting the program and then she would not have a job. A class member tactfully, but persistently, challenged the reality of this scenario and Ellen, somewhat reluctantly, admitted that the program probably wouldn't be cut just because she asked one question. I found it curious that all of her prospective interviewees were those to whom she ascribed great power. At the end of that class, I noted that it was "interesting that you complain about others having the power, yet those are the only ones you considered talking to." Ellen stopped for a moment and then said, "You mean I collude with the system by giving up to them?"

One other incident is worth describing as representative of Ellen's organizational orientation and my interventions. As a guidance counselor, she needed a teacher to administer a test to a student. When the teacher demurred, Ellen responded with a power move: "Well, your boss said . . ." She then proceeded to lament in class that "Counselors are only equal to teachers and can't make them [the teachers] do things." She wondered if the teacher would be absent the next day (when the testing was scheduled to hap-

pen) just to thwart her personally. As Ellen explained it, this teacher was "just one of those people you can never get along with."

I suggested that, in the spirit of inquiry we were trying to establish, she might use this situation to discover what this particular teacher's world was like; that it might be interesting to see what happened if she established some rapport before forcing the testing issue back to higher levels of authority. Another class member suggested that perhaps other things were going on for this teacher that were not immediately apparent. The following week, Ellen reported that the teacher turned out to be very willing and cooperative. She attributed this to the fact that "I rattled her cage and didn't just sit back and complain to my friends." When I asked if this was a new behavior on her part, she minimized it by saying that "You just hit these bumps in the road with other people." I noted that this week the problem was just "a bump in the road" and last week it was a person "you can never get along with." Ellen seemingly shrugged off this paradox.

Near the end of the semester, She spontaneously related that "The process, talking in here and having people ask questions, and you [the author] propose questions about our process was very helpful for me I realize that by a continual review of my process I should be better able to sort out those behaviors that are productive and build

on them and those that are unproductive and try to change those. I also realize that people continually amaze me. I have a bad habit of categorizing people and anticipating how they will react . . . they can and do surprise me with new behaviors or attitudes and I need to stay more open to that possibility." Obviously, some change was beginning to occur in Ellen's conceptualization of her interaction with other members of the organization.

Assessment Project. For her assessment project, She interviewed several administrators about the role of guidance counseling. She found that the interviews were uncomfortable for her and she thought this was "because I had worked there so long and there is a history between you and the workplace I'm not sure it was helpful." She did, however, discover that the Principal's attitude toward guidance counselors was similar to what she had assumed. He repeatedly referred to guidance counselors' "discussions" with students and explicitly stated that trained psychologists were needed to "counsel" students. She also found that personal loyalty to him was a trait he valued in his staff. So, while her assumptions about some of his motives were indirectly confirmed, the value was that she had the opportunity to test those assumptions in person.

Learnings. Ellen's most explicit learning was about the way she worked with other people. "I feel more aware of how I function I'm thinking more about including

all the interested parties when something comes up. I make sure I go right to the teacher and get the teacher's reaction: 'What do you think about this? What should we do?' Even those teachers that I think of as 'off the wall,' if I go to them and include them and ask for their input right away, the whole process seems to go a bit more smoothly and things get resolved. That's a change If I call the parents on the phone, just try to include everyone as quickly as I can which is something kind of new . . . rather than resolve the whole thing myself."

I suspect that there also may be an implicit learning for Ellen: that is that the status quo is not fixed, and that she can change her behaviors to produce more effective personal and organizational results. This is definite evidence of her movement toward more formal operations with regard to herself and the organization.

Subject F

Fred is a 35 year old, white male who has worked as a counselor in a public mental health agency for the past year and a half and for the two previous years in a number of community mental health settings. Prior to that, he worked in non-counseling occupations. When he graduates with an M.Ed. in Counseling next semester he hopes to find a position in Human Service management in the mental health field.

Fred's internship was at his work site and, since, he was a long-term member, he felt that he was already influential and accepted. He hoped to be able to continue to learn and grow, but felt that the degree to which he was successful at influencing change had a lot to do with the receptivity of the Director: sometimes she was open to input and sometimes not. He also expressed some concern over his working class background and was on guard about "being misunderstood and not respected for who I am and what I know."

He had considerable experience with organizations and had learned long ago not to just say what he thought without understanding the political dynamics first. Consequently, he avoids "controversial groups and meaningless meetings." He seemed mostly to operate at a concrete level, preferring the behavioral modality. Cognitively, however, he seemed capable of formal operations, while, affectively, he seemed more at a pre-operational level.

Internship Experience. Fred's experience, like Ellen's, was dissimilar from the other subjects in that he was not a new member of the organization. His work, however, had the same blend of crisis and bureaucracy. In class, he seemed chronically fatigued and close to burnout. This impression was corroborated when I read his many journal entries. "Felt really overwhelmed and lost couldn't find the paperwork hectic as hell" and "In

the office all day dealing with paperwork" and "Hey, who has time for all this office stuff--too busy chasing clients monthly reports due and 5 clients in crisis."

There was also a unique aspect to Fred's work in that his clients were spread over a large geographical area and much of his time was spent outside the office environment. This produced a real sense of loneliness: "On the road doing my thing. I am rather isolated and today I am feeling it. Would be nice to be able to discuss some issues with others but everyone is too busy. Even my assistant is unavailable!"

Assessment Project. Fred realized that, because of his work-induced isolation, he did not really know what other people in the agency did. He decided, therefore, to interview his peers to find out. Formally, he interviewed: the Residential Director; the Director of Children's Programs; his supervisor; and the Administrative Assistant. He also managed to meet with the Executive Director on an informal basis.

A major discovery for Fred was that other members of the organization had the same high level of commitment and dedication to the agency's mission as he did. He also found himself becoming more included by the larger agency. For example, as a result of meeting with the Children's Director, he volunteered to help teach computer skills to

her staff and found that "After meeting with them, they were friendlier to me."

When he chanced to meet the Executive Director in the hall (he had predetermined that he would interview her spontaneously and informally because of her time constraints), he noticed her non-verbal expression and reflected that back to her. To his surprise, she responded very positively and they spent 20 minutes together. He did this several times and came to a better understanding of her responsibilities.

Learnings. Like Barbara, Fred learned to appreciate the subtle but powerful effects of the assessment process. "I've always felt pretty isolated and felt like a lot of people didn't have the time to talk to me . . . [but] . . . after talking to all the people, what happened to me after doing all this . . . I felt really included before, but feel even more so now." A person who had never before come to his office, was now a frequent visitor--seeking him out just to talk. In the final class, Fred said, "I feel people are more accessible, more supportive . . . it was really valuable, this intangible stuff, people being more open. It was really valuable."

I think Fred strengthened his formal operations and moved began movement into the postformal stage. His insight in a class discussion summed it up the underlying assumption of the research intervention: "By seeing how

much influence I have, I am already influencing people!"

Analysis and Results

Results are analyzed from three perspectives. First, the subjects' experience is compared with the thematic elements cited in the literature on burn-out and job dissatisfaction among teachers and counselors. Second, the personal changes in the students, which were conceptualized as the primary intervention, are discussed. Third, and finally, is a discussion of the organizational changes, which were conceptualized as the secondary intervention.

Analysis of Themes

Rather than developing, inductively, the themes unique to this group, it seems appropriate to discuss the nature of their experience in terms of those themes already cited in the literature as contributory factors in the phenomenon of human service burnout. These factors include: reality shock; lack of involvement and influence in organizational decision-making; social isolation from peers; amount and nature of bureaucratic work; and role conflict.

Reality Shock. For Barbara, Ellen and Fred, reality shock was not an issue. These interns had a mean age of 41, at least five years of experience in their field plus many years of experience as organizational members and two of them were interning at their regular work site. For Allen, Carol and Diane, however, reality shock was a factor.

These subjects were mostly in their late twenties with no experience in guidance counseling and only a few years of general work experience. All three expressed dismay at the mistreatment and helplessness of students, teacher apathy, administrative remoteness, and the endemic tone of cynicism and adversariality. During the semester Allen and Diane seriously questioned whether or not guidance counseling was an appropriate career for them.

Two facts seemed uppermost to them: the tone of hopelessness and crisis in the public school environment, and the lack of opportunity for direct, high quality counseling with students. Ellen, the veteran of twenty years of public school work, said, "It's impossible to see a kid twice a week." She felt counselors were lucky to see kids more than two or three times, period. Clearly, guidance counseling in these public schools was not the sort of work that an entry level professional might expect--there was little opportunity to form and maintain a counseling relationship over time, and still less time to form those relationships with all the students that could have benefited from guidance counseling.

It should also be noted that there was nothing in their prior experience that prepared them for the reality of guidance counseling. In class, they reflected on the irony that their training had presupposed that counseling would be an orderly and serial sequence of one-on-one coun-

selling interventions in the context of a supportive system. Instead, they found that it was "like triage . . . physical and emotional exhaustion" in the context of uncooperative members in "a system in crisis under pressure."

Lack of Involvement and Influence. Interestingly, the subject who felt least involved and influential, Ellen, was also the person with the longest membership (20 years) in her organization. I wonder whether the changes in her work style (involving others more immediately and openly) will not also lead to a change in her level of involvement and influence within the organization. It is hard to imagine one member of a system making changes of that magnitude in personal behavior without engendering a response in kind. Fred also felt a lack of involvement at the outset, but that would seem to be more attributable to the isolated nature of his work, since he did feel influential when the Director was open to input.

Diane spoke and wrote very little about her involvement and influence. It is difficult, therefore, to determine her specific experience. Her few references typically spoke, not to her feelings, but rather to the abstract observation that her level of influence, inclusion and influence matched reasonable expectations given the situation. As she said, quite evenly, the week after verbalizing her feeling of being overwhelmed, "My whole philosophy this year is to persevere." From this point on, she rarely

moved out of the cognitive mode and I was reluctant to push her for more detailed descriptions. It seemed that her coping resources were stretched to the extreme, and that her measured cognitive responses were her means of keeping her psyche intact.

While Allen, Barbara, and Carol expected they would have to earn credibility, they accomplished this quickly and also exerted considerable influence at their site: Allen was a chief instigator in the reform of the math curriculum; Barbara facilitated the Principal's new involvement in Guidance; and Carol pushed for action against sexual harassment. In all three cases, they had site supervisors who actively invited them into meetings and made them feel welcome. While Fred's work did not produce a tangible change effect, it is likely that increased cohesion and understanding at the staff level will have some effect on the overall organization.

Social Isolation. While most subjects expressed initial anxiety about acceptance and inclusion at their site, this did not become a salient issue. Some of this may be due to the part-time nature of the intern assignment as well as frequent contact with other students in other classes. Barbara and Ellen also had the on-going support of existing social relationships in their primary work site. For Fred, however, social isolation from peers was a primary concern.

Allen, Diane and Fred indicated that they hoped our class could be a place of support for one another, particularly in understanding the common aspects of the counseling experience. Diane attempted to get the class to use a "reflecting team" approach but this technique seemed a bit advanced for a couple of the other students who were more concrete in their orientation (giving advice and self-disclosure). It was dropped after one session. Barbara, furthermore, did not feel a need for this kind of support and would have preferred a more clinical approach in which they could share "what to do when" ideas.

Bureaucratic Work. Allen, Carol, Ellen, and Fred were most vocal about the intrusive and unwelcome nature of bureaucratic work. Fred seemed to be continually drowning in paperwork while Allen and Ellen were continually exasperated by administrative constraints. It was not expressed as a salient topic by the other subjects.

Role Conflict. All subjects (except Fred) repeatedly mentioned and discussed at some length the problems caused by the conflicting role expectations of guidance counselors. It seemed that at each of the sites, there was no consistent understanding of the role among the various constituencies (guidance counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and students). As Barbara noted in her paper, "The Principal views the highest priority of guidance counselors . . . [as] teachers, then parents, then students. Teachers

believe . . . individual students are the highest priority, then group guidance [then] teachers [The Guidance Counselor] sees group guidance as the most effective use of her time." Such diversity of expectation was common across all the school sites and a constant source of frustration and stress.

Analysis of Participant Change

The crux of this research project is determining whether the expected effects were produced in the desired direction, and whether such effects can be attributed to the intervention itself and not to other variables outside the researcher's control such as maturation and personalogical factors. Statistically, the quantitative results are significant at the .01 level but this does not tell us that the intervention caused the change. In this section, therefore, the data is analyzed to determine, on the basis of qualitative evidence, what the effects were and whether or not they can be related to the intervention (see Table 5 at the end of this chapter).

Personal Change. For the purpose of this research, "personal change" is defined as an alteration in a subject's behavior or cognition. The evidence for this is in each subject's written records and video-taped class interactions. Allen stated that he learned that he could be a significant contributor to organizational change. Would he have had this learning without the intervention?

Would the math curriculum have been changed without his chosen assignment to ask questions about it? Perhaps, but it is hard to imagine it being as explicit and dramatic without our equally explicit discussions about how he could influence change. It seems to me that the intervention allowed him the developmental opportunity to successfully engage in postformal operations.

Allen also explicitly questioned his career choice. Is this due to the intervention? I think not, though I suspect the intervention facilitated his awareness and decision-making. The class forum gave him a chance to verbalize his dilemma to others and hear himself express it. Making a concern vocal and public is an important step in personal decision-making.

Barbara learned two things that she directly attributes to the intervention. One was the value and subtlety of the technique and the second was that others are willing to take the time to meet with her. Both reflect a movement from formal into postformal operations.

Based on her assessment project, Carol changed her opinion of the Principal and, I would hope, is now less reflexively cynical about others. She seems to have moved from a pre-operational/concrete level to a concrete/formal level.

Diane discovered that the process of asking questions of others improved her rapport with them. She also real-

ized, as part of the assessment project, that her current feelings toward teachers was a recapitulation of her earlier experience. I doubt either of these learnings would have happened at this time without the intervention. More than any of the other subjects, Diane seemed to wrestle with her career choice. Certainly this would have happened without the intervention. Again, however, the class forum provided a developmental opportunity to verbalize and reflect on her own feelings and move from concrete to formal operations.

Ellen attributed her learning (about the value of reflecting on her own behavior and including others) as coming directly from our class discussions. These changes, she said, were something new for her. It also seems that she is now less-inclined to reflexively categorize others and attribute unverified motives to their behavior. This is strong evidence of movement out of pre-operational and concrete operations into more formal constructions.

Fred, like Barbara, also felt he learned to appreciate the simple technique of asking others questions about their world. In my opinion both subjects grasped and experienced the dialectical possibilities of organizational membership. Certainly, both were on the cusp of postformal operations at the outset, but I am convinced that the intervention provided the opportunity for development at this level.

Inclusion, Affective Experience, and Influence. This is a more difficult area in which to assess results since maturation offers a strong competing argument. One would assume, for example, that interns would normally feel more included and influential over the course of the semester. I think a case could be made that Allen experienced greater inclusion and positive feeling about his site due to his participation in the curriculum project, but I think the maturation process explains it equally well.

The intervention, however, did provide him with a clear avenue and goal for influencing change. His level of influence, because of his organizational maturity, would have been high in any case, but the intervention most likely facilitated the exercise of this influence. Greater inclusion, especially by the Principal, was a direct result of Barbara's assessment and I think led to a more positive feeling about her involvement with the site. This is particularly striking given the very short amount of time she spent there. I also think that her interview with the Principal influenced him to consider his relationship with the full-time guidance counselor.

I cannot find any evidence that Carol experienced greater inclusion, influence or more positive feelings as a direct result of the intervention.

Diane reported greater understanding of other members as a result of her project and that this had led to invita-

tions to participate in the social world at her site. There is no evidence, though, of increased influence or more positive affect. In fact, it may be that the intervention increased the cognitive dissonance that Diane was experiencing.

Ellen did not report greater levels of inclusion, involvement, or positive feelings. I suspect, however, that by more openly including others in her work process, she will find that others include her more often and are more open to her influence. This is conjecture on my part, though, and is not offered as evidence of results.

Fred reported definite increases in what he thought was already a high level of inclusion. He also experienced more positive feelings when he realized that others shared his passion for the agency's mission. I would expect that these increased levels of inclusion and affect will lead to increased influence, but there is no evidence of that at this point.

Analysis of Organizational Change

With one third of the subjects (Allen and Barbara), I find distinct organizational changes that are directly related to the intervention. Allen was definitely an integral part of revising a long-neglected math curriculum. Barbara was instrumental in leading the Principal to a re-evaluation of his relationship with Guidance. In Fred's case, I believe that his work will lead to improved inter-

nal dialogue within the organizational and future change but that has not yet happened. Interestingly, these three students appeared to have the most insight into postformal levels of development (in the domain of organizational membership).

Summary of Results

When we look at the internship experience of these six students, we find that their experience is quite similar to that cited in the literature on burnout and job dissatisfaction in the fields of counseling and teaching. All five guidance counseling interns experienced significant confusion in their institutional role. The three youngest subjects (also the newest to the field) encountered significant reality shock and two of them questioned the wisdom of their intended career choice. Excessive bureaucratic constraints were a source of frustration for four of the six subjects. Contrary to what one would expect based on the literature, social isolation was not a problem for five of the six subjects and the sixth is clearly a special case in this regard.

A one-tailed t test conducted on the scores of pre- and post-intervention questionnaires shows that the increase in mean scores is significant at the .01 level.

All subjects experienced some changes in behavior and/or cognition that is plausibly related to the intervention. In all cases there is evidence of movement in cognitive-

developmental levels. Effects in the areas of inclusion, influence, affective experience and organizational change are more ambiguous. Half the subjects reported increased levels of inclusion that can be attributed to the intervention. One third reported more increased influence within the organization and more positive feelings about membership. In two of the six cases, there was a definite change in the organization that is a direct result of the intervention. In these two cases, the subjects appeared to be functioning at a postformal level of cognitive development.

Table 4: Quantitative Results

	<u>COMBINED SCORES</u>	
	<u>PRE-TEST SCORE</u>	<u>POST-TEST SCORE</u>
<i>A</i>	9.0	11.0
<i>B</i>	6.0	8.0
<i>C</i>	9.5	11.0
<i>D</i>	9.0	9.0
<i>E</i>	5.5	6.0
<i>F</i>	11.0	12.0
	—	—
Mean:	8.33	9.5

Note: scores are calculated using the following scale:

- 0 = No perceived influence or inclusion; negative experience.
- 4 = Minimal influence or inclusion; neutral experience.
- 8 = Moderate influence or inclusion; positive experience.
- 12 = Considerable influence or inclusion; very positive experience.

Table 5: Qualitative Effects

<u>Subject</u>	<u>PERSONAL EFFECTS</u>				<u>ORG. EFFECTS</u>
	<u>Personal Change</u>	<u>Inclusion</u>	<u>Influence</u>	<u>Positive Affect</u>	
<i>A</i>	Y	N	Y	N	Y
<i>B</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>C</i>	Y	N	N	N	N
<i>D</i>	Y	Y	N	N	N
<i>E</i>	Y	N	N	N	N
<i>F</i>	Y	Y	N	Y	N
	—	—	—	—	—
Yes:	6	3	2	2	2
	100%	50%	33%	33%	33%

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

General Conclusions

The underlying intention of this research project was to improve the pre-service training of interns in a way that increased their ability to adjust to organizational life. The hope was that this would contribute to the reduction of future incidence of burnout and job dissatisfaction. More specifically, the research was designed to: improve the quality of the induction experience; increase awareness of the realities of organizational life; facilitate the development of inclusion and influence; and catalyze organizational change. These results were to be achieved by using qualitative assessment as an intervention technique.

A positive result would be indicated by subjects who: (a) realized that, as members of an organization, they are an integral part of a psychological whole; (b) discovered themselves in the process of discovering others; (c) developed some ability in using the self as an instrument of change; and (d) experienced, concretely, the abstract idea that a genuine inquiry into someone else's world is powerful intervention that affects both parties as well as the human system to which they belong. To what degree did this happen?

The results demonstrate that all subjects, to varying degrees, experienced the intended results. This suggests that we might reduce the incidence of burnout and job dissatisfaction by facilitating the developmental growth of teachers and counselors in the domain of organizational life. This would reduce the emotional costs of membership, improve individual effectiveness, and potentiate organizational change.

Research Questions

Question One

What is the nature of the induction experience of intern students in the graduate counseling program at the University of Massachusetts? This study gathered data from student journals, self-report questionnaires, class discussions and organizational assessment papers. The experience of the six interns has been described at some length in the previous chapter. In conclusion, it is noted that: (1) role confusion was universal for those doing guidance counseling; (2) reality shock was an issue for the younger interns who were also new to the field; and (3) bureaucratic frustration was common to all. These findings corroborate the factors cited in the literature on burnout and job dissatisfaction.

The issue of being accepted as a competent professional was an initial source of anxiety for all subjects, but dissipated over the semester as they gained experience

and positive feedback. Social inclusion was never a salient concern—most likely because social needs were met by existing work groups (the three older subjects), other student affiliations (the three younger subjects), or effectively addressed by site supervisors. At the outset, while all subjects had minimal expectations of organizational influence, five of the six exerted significant influence on some aspect or event in the organizational system.

Question Two

How is this experience affected when the subjects' attention is specifically directed to the organizational context through an intervention that encourages their active engagement with the organization? This study provided students with an opportunity to reflect on their experience and share that experience with other students in similar situations. It also supported their active inquiry into a chosen aspect of organizational life, and the concomitant establishment of personal relationships with a number of organizational members.

The results demonstrate that there was positive change for all subjects, but not necessarily in the areas initially hypothesized. It was hypothesized that the results would be revealed in questionnaires that tapped into Shutz's (1973) dimensions of organizational life (inclusion, influence, and affective experience).

The quantitative analysis shows that 80% of the subjects experienced improvement in these areas. While this is not quite significant at the .01 level, it is significant at the .05 level, and the change is consistently in the desired direction. The qualitative data is less consistent with regard to the hypothesized dimensions. It shows that inclusion due to the intervention increased in 50% of the cases, and influence and affective experience improved in 33% of the cases.

Why should the quantitative results be more uniform than the qualitative ones? One possibility is that the questionnaires asked the wrong questions, that is, the students may have experienced change, but not in a way that fit the predetermined categories. The quantitative questionnaires (which asked for a quick, global attribution) might have tapped more easily into a general feeling of improvement. In contrast, the qualitative questionnaires (which asked for more thoughtful, specific responses) might have given the students an opportunity to de-select positive feelings that were outside the predetermined categories.

Such feelings, however, were evident in the class sessions, journal records, and assessment papers. All subjects experienced a level of personal change that is directly attributable to the intervention. These changes are developmental in nature and indicate the acquisition of

insights or skills that lead to greater effectiveness as members of human systems. In brief, all learned to value open, non-judgmental inquiry, to reflect on the way they co-construct meaning, and how both those processes influence their interaction with others.

It was hoped that the intervention would ameliorate the factors cited in the literature as contributory to job dissatisfaction, especially, in the areas of involvement and inclusion. These results suggest that those factors may not be primary. There may be underlying factors that determine whether or not individuals experience certain elements of job dissatisfaction. Those factors might be (1) the individual's cognitive-developmental level and flexibility of movement, and (2) the individual's ability to respond to external demands with co-constructive behaviors. This is not to suggest that change is limited to the factors discussed. Other variables, such as the interaction of personalities (students and members), probably play an equally significant role.

Question Three

How does this engagement effect the organization itself? In one third of the cases, there is evidence of significant organizational effects due, at least in part, to the secondary intervention. Again, these effects may also be due interational effects beyond the scope of this study. In an additional case (Fred's), there is some reason to

anticipate that future changes may derive from the intervention. A 33-50% success rate suggests that the intervention has the potential for generating some level of organizational effect.

Given the magnitude of organizational inertia possessed by public institutions, the limited duration of the internship experience, and the brevity (12 hours) of the intervention design and guidance in conducting assessment as intervention, these results seem quite encouraging. In some situations, therefore, organizational change can be facilitated by focusing on the developmental growth of individuals and their consequent ability to engage in co-constructive activity. There is some evidence that the degree of organizational effect might be dependent upon the individual cognitive-developmental level.

Significance and Recommendations

This research is significant for three reasons. First, it demonstrates a number of insights about the nature of change in the context of human systems. It shows that cognitive-developmental theory is applicable to the domain of organizational membership. Within this domain of experience, personal change in developmental levels is likely and organizational change is possible. Such change occurs when members are provided with both a supportive group process and guidance in organizational assessment as intervention.

Assessment, in the spirit of a genuine, non-judgmental inquiry, is a means of establishing personal relationships with key members of the organization who might otherwise remain personally remote to the interviewer. Assessment as intervention is a powerful source of learning for both parties. The potential for personal and organizational change that flows from the assessment and the supportive group process is just as large with new members as it is with seasoned veterans. Difference in effects may depend upon the cognitive-developmental level of the individuals involved.

Typically, organizational development focuses on changing either the structural attributes of an organization (hierarchy, information flow, work design, etc.) or the interpersonal relationships of its members. This research suggests that there might be underlying factors that are amenable to intervention and contributory to systemic change.

Second, the research demonstrates that such change is possible even in the context of long-established social institutions, such as public schools. The fact that change occurred at all is a ray of hope for those concerned with the improvement of our educational system. It also suggests that we have available, through our pre-service training programs, a convenient avenue for catalyzing institutional change. In some cases, such as the revision of

math curriculum at Allen's site, these changes may be long-lasting.

Third, the research suggests a conceptual framework for understanding the developmental tasks required of those who wish to catalyze change within themselves and within the human systems to which they belong. The proposed schema is composed of four stages, each with a defined task, cognitive-developmental level, target and modality.

The first task is to understand the world of others. In Carey's (1989) terminology, the targets of this inquiry are the other members of the system. The developmental work is at both the elemental and the concrete levels. The mode is affective and behavioral: what do people do and how do they feel about it. The second task is to understand the larger human system as a whole. Ivey (1991) cites a Yakima Nation Proverb: "Education is . . . the gradual revelation of a culture." In the organizational domain, this suggests that a progressive engagement in inquiry will gradually reveal the shape and tone of the overall system. Patterns will emerge and events will appear less magical and capricious. The target in this phase is the overall system. The developmental work is primarily at the formal level and in the cognitive mode.

The third task is also at the formal level, but the modality is both cognitive and affective. In this task, the goal is to perceive and reflect upon one's own reaction

to the emerging revelation of both the system and the individuals who comprise it. The target is the self; to discern patterns of feeling and behavior: what happens, how one feels about it, and how one tends to react. The fourth task is postformal. It involves the active co-construction of new behaviors and feelings with other members of the system. The target is the self, other individuals, and the system as a whole. All modalities are utilized, and the self is the primary instrument of change. It is hoped that this four-stage framework offers a way of conceptualizing, not just organizational work, but all work with human systems by blending individual counseling and organizational consulting in the context of cognitive-developmental theory.

Recommendations for Counselor Education

One recommendation is that training programs (graduate and undergraduate) for both teachers and counselors include some variation of this intervention model as part of their pre-service training. This is especially important for young people who are new to the profession and have little experience in the life of the workplace. The more these students are able to operate at a postformal level in all modalities, the more effectively they will engage organizational life, and the less likely they will be to succumb to the effects of burnout and job dissatisfaction. They may also become valuable catalysts for future change.

Another recommendation is that students have some exposure to the realities of organizational life midway through their studies. I suggest that one year before their internship, students get a chance to hear the "war stories" of organizational veterans in their chosen career field. Prospective guidance counselors, for example, ought to have the opportunity to hear what the work is "really" like: chaos, triage, bureaucracy, role conflict, politics, etc.

Recommendations for Research

The specific intent of this study could be replicated and more rigorously validated using the model of cognitive-development as a means of hypothesizing results and gathering data. This could be done fairly simply by conducting a cognitive-developmental analysis of class transcripts during the intervention period. Since interrater reliability for the evaluation of cognitive-developmental levels has been established (Rigazio-DiGilio and Ivey, 1990), this would provide a meaningful quantification of results (number of verbalizations by level) without minimizing the qualitative aspects.

An additional improvement would be to explicitly frame the classes as a mutual opportunity for subjects to give and receive developmental support. It would be useful to share a model of cognitive-development with the subjects and to emphasize that this is a never-ending process: the

"heights" of postformal development are only the prelude to better "grounding" in a newly preoperational perspective. It would also be helpful to set an expectation that the class sessions are opportunities to practice peer counseling with regard to this model. Further, the researcher should consider his or her role as a counseling one, and aim at facilitating developmental movement.

Three additional areas of investigation are suggested. One possibility is to examine the developmental process of the members of any organizational system: human service or otherwise. Can we replicate these findings in other organizations with other types of people? Is the model generalizable? Much has been written about life span cognitive-development in the context of personal growth and family systems, but, there is little information relative to the domain of organizational membership. Since adults spend at least one third of their waking hours in work activities, this might be a beneficial area of study.

A second area to investigate is the training of people who are charged with catalyzing change in organizations. Could use of this model improve their effectiveness? As mentioned above, traditional approaches to organizational change focus either on directly changing functional attributes of the system (an "engineering" approach) or on indirectly initiating change by improving interpersonal relations (a "training") approach. People who might ben-

enefit from the proposed approach include both internal change agents (consultants, managers, etc.) and external ones (educational reformers, consumer advocates, etc.).

A third area to explore is direct intervention with people suffering from burnout and job dissatisfaction. Perhaps their suffering reflects a deeper inflexibility in cognitive-developmental movement. Could this model provide an effective form of treatment? Could we lessen their symptoms by facilitating developmental growth and co-construction?

Research in any of the above areas would add considerably to our knowledge about the potential and process for generating reciprocal, positive change in human systems. Just as we are shaped by the social institutions within which we live and work, so, too, they are shaped by us. Cognitive-developmental theory and the idea of assessment as intervention offer a subtle, but powerful, methodology for more consciously and effectively co-constructing the future. Perhaps, if we were to become more skilled in these areas, we might find that the workplace is not a source of dissatisfaction and burnout but, rather, a context for collaborative growth and social change.

Limitations

Single-Group Design

On the surface, the most serious limitation would seem to be the nature of the research design itself: a single-

group study as opposed to a more rigorous and experimental two-group design. If there is no control group, how can we be sure the results are not due to chance or uncontrolled variables? The problem with that question, however, is that even with a carefully done two-group design, we could not control for the very significant variables of maturation, levels of cognitive development and readiness, amounts of work experience, and personal, familial and cultural differences.

Realistically, then, a traditional, experimental design would not provide significantly more control over these very powerful variables. The problem, in either case, is determining which effects are due to the intervention and which are due to other variables. It may even be that the results are due to the interaction of both. Perhaps, the intervention is less a mechanical intrusion into the subjects' induction experience than it is a chemical catalyst in the maturation process itself, in cognitive-developmental movement, etc.

Outcome Orientation vs. Developmental

In retrospect, then, this study is actually a consulting intervention designed to provide life span cognitive-developmental opportunities for adults in the workplace. The desired changes are in multi-modal, personal traits which are more properly the focus of longer term therapeutic work. In this sense, the crucial question, which

eluded this researcher in the design phase, is: how do we assess the subjects' developmental movement as they are counseled in the co-construction of their induction experience?

This is the most serious limitation in the overall design. I conceived of the results as the product of the intervention rather than as a developmental movement of the subjects involved. Therefore, the "nets" that I initially devised to catch the results (questionnaires, journals, and papers) were not as attuned to the actual impact of the intervention as they could have been. Also, since I was focused on the effects "out there" (in the subjects and in the organizations), I did not maximize the counseling potential of my role.

Variable Skill Levels

A design such as this is highly dependent upon the skill levels of both the subjects and the researcher. A more skilled researcher could elicit more productive change. At times, I felt overwhelmed trying to discern and address the multiple attributes of the group: cognitive-developmental levels; readiness; life experience; modalities; gender and culture; etc. A more skilled counselor would have been more effective in addressing individual interventions at the level most appropriate for that person.

The skills of the subjects are also a critical variable. In terms of the assessment project, subjects with better interview skills (active listening, establishing rapport, appropriate self-disclosure, etc.) will most likely experience more productive results. In the class setting, the skills of the subjects can either strengthen or attenuate the intervention's effects. I often felt frustrated that the students did not actively attend and respond to one another's affective state, or display counseling behaviors. Whether this was because I failed to set and reinforce the expectation of mutual support, or because it was a matter of ability, the outcome was infrequent use of counseling skills in the group situation.

Generalizability

Since this is not a true experimental design, we cannot make a statistical generalization to a broader population--the subjects were not a random sample of a larger population. The results confirm, however, that the presence of a number of factors (reality shock, role conflict, and bureaucratic work) cited in the literature on the induction of teachers and counselors. I think we can safely assume that the intern experience of these six students is broadly representative of that of other students interning in, at least, the M.Ed. counseling program at the University of Massachusetts and, at most, in similar counseling programs at other universities.

Concluding Remarks

I found this study to be gratifying and exciting for several reasons. First, I know now that the pre-service training of teachers and counselors can be modified to better prepare them for the realities of organizational life. Intuitively, I believe this will improve the quality of their future worklife and their effectiveness as organizational members. Furthermore, this is a relatively simple modification that requires only: (1) weekly meetings of peers throughout the internship period to explore feelings and thoughts related to the organizational context; (2) training and guidance in the use of qualitative assessment as an intervention technique; and (3) supervision that facilitates cognitive development in all modalities.

Second, this modification has the potential of catalyzing systemic change in public institutions. There is a very real opportunity for academic training institutions to enter into a co-construction of new social possibility by preparing students to become change agents.

Third, I am convinced that the simple act of open, non-judgmental inquiry has the power to transform individuals and organizations in unexpected and positive ways. As I continue to thrash my way through the endless multiplicity of counseling theories and techniques, this one idea becomes my grounding vision: at the heart of counseling lives the spirit of inquiry, and this spirit transforms, through mutual revelation, self and other.

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

This research is being conducted as part of a University of Massachusetts doctoral dissertation in Counseling Psychology by William Mailler.

1. The purpose of this research is to explore the induction experience of practicum students in counseling.
2. Participation is voluntary. Students may choose not to participate. Participation will not effect course grade.
3. Participating students will be randomly divided in two sections which will meet independently throughout the semester.
4. All participating students will be asked to complete two pre-practicum and two post-practicum questionnaires. Site supervisors and directors will also be asked to respond to a questionnaire.
5. Participating students will complete a field work assignment at their site and summarize findings in a short paper. In addition, they will maintain a journal record of their induction experiences.
6. Participating students will be videotaped during class as a matter of research record only. Videotapes will be destroyed upon completion of research.
7. Non-participating students will be given an alternate, equivalent assignment by the practicum instructor.
8. Participating students may withdraw at any time with no penalty.
9. Confidentiality will be maintained through the removal of names and disguising of situations in both the dissertation and subsequent publications. Direct quotations, however, will be used but not attributed in a way that might identify the speaker.
10. Participating students will be given access to the entire research proposal and results if desired.

I have read the above and had it explained to me with sufficient opportunity to address my questions and concerns. I understand the above and consent to participate in the research. I understand that I may withdraw at any time at no penalty. I also agree that direct quotations may be used in the researcher's dissertation and subsequent publications providing all identifiers are removed or disguised.

Student: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES

PRE-PRACTICUM QUESTIONNAIRE (Q1A)

1. As you anticipate your entry into the organization, what kinds of feelings come to mind?
2. As you get in touch with those feelings, how do expect others will treat you? To what degree do you think you will be accepted into their world?
3. What are your best and worst fantasies about belonging to the organization?
4. In what ways do you think you will be able to influence the organization? What sorts of changes do you imagine you might help produce?

Name: _____

Date: _____

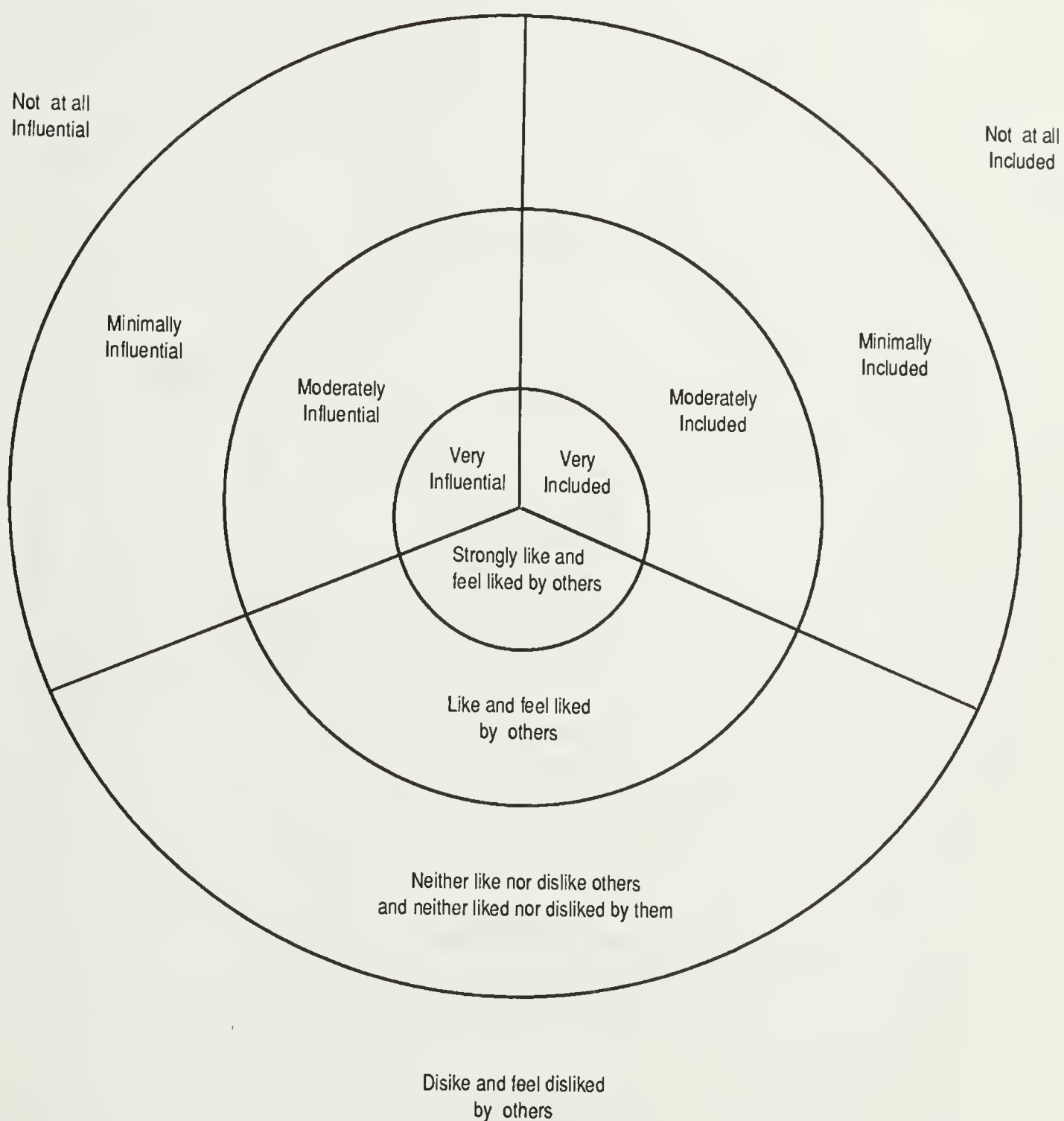
POST-PRACTICUM QUESTIONNAIRE (Q1B)

1. When you reflect, now, upon your entry into the organization, what kinds of feelings come to mind?
2. How accepted do you feel, now, by others at your work site? Do you feel like you were included in their world? What examples can you share?
3. In terms of your interaction with the organization, what were the high and low spots?
4. In what ways do you think you have influenced the organization? How do you feel about your power to influence events? What examples can you share?

Name: _____

Date: _____

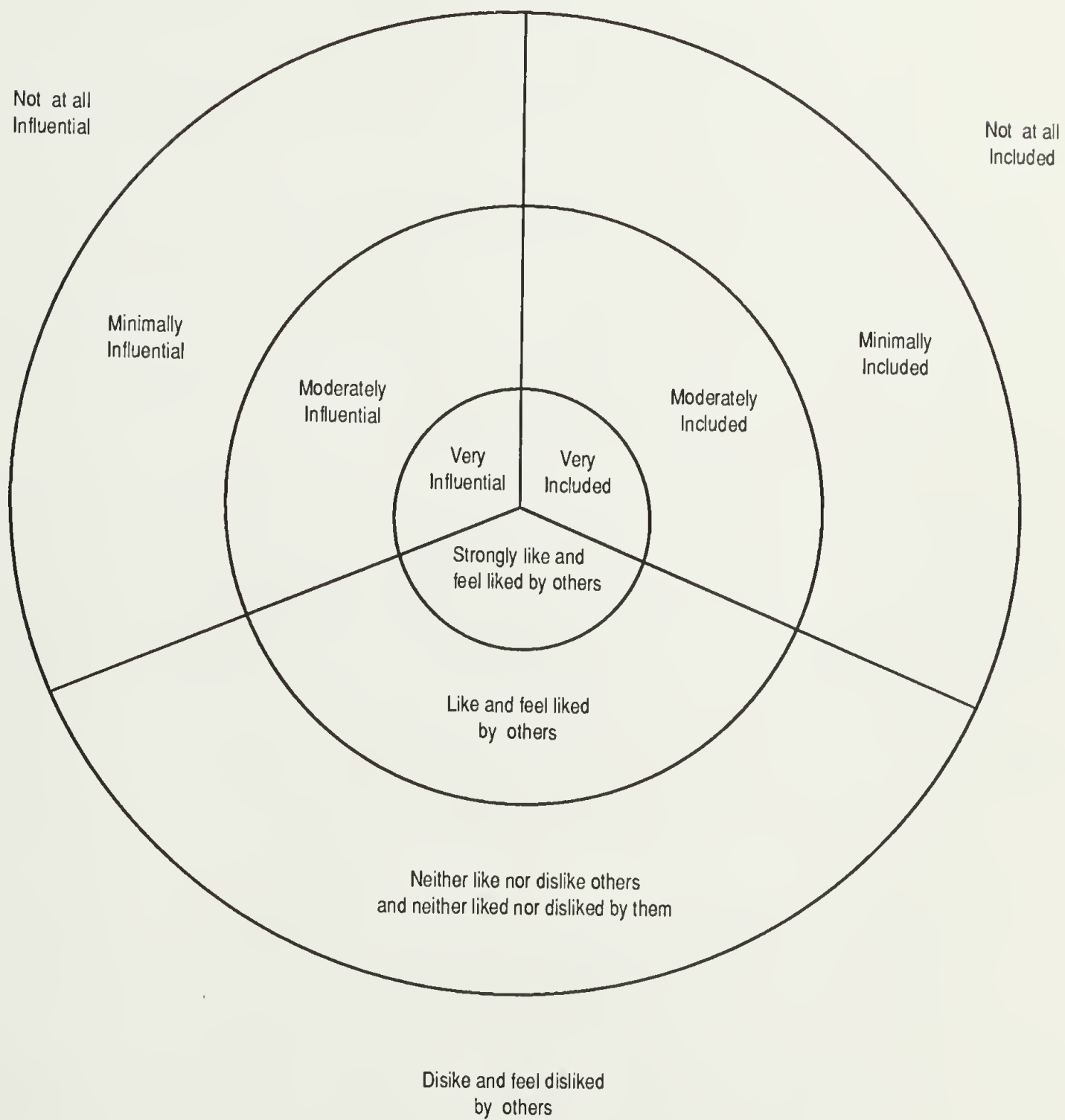
PRE-PRACTICUM QUESTIONNAIRE (O2A)



Name: _____

Date: _____

POST-PRACTICUM QUESTIONNAIRE (Q2B)



Name : _____

Date : _____

APPENDIX C: ASSIGNMENTS

ASSIGNMENTS

1. Conduct a qualitative assessment of your site organization through the interview of selected members. Theory and practice of assessment will be provided during the class meetings as well as on-going support during this fieldwork assignment. You will determine the interview protocol, who to interview, how many interviews to conduct (at least four), and a schedule for completing the assignment (by the last class).
2. Summarize your findings about the organization in a short paper due on the last class day.
3. Maintain a journal record of your work experiences at the site. At least one entry must be made for each day worked. Journal writings will focus on your experiences as an organizational member. Entries should be briefly descriptive of key events and document your insights, introspections, feelings, etc. about your induction in the site organization. Due on the last class day.
4. Present to the class, in 15-20 minutes, your learnings about the induction experience as it relates to you: introspections, feelings, critical events, your role in the life of the organization, your process of becoming a member, insights into your own behavior, how you have or have not changed, what you might do differently next time, etc. Presentations must be documented and are due on the last class day.

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